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Exclusive interview with financial consultant Harry Browne

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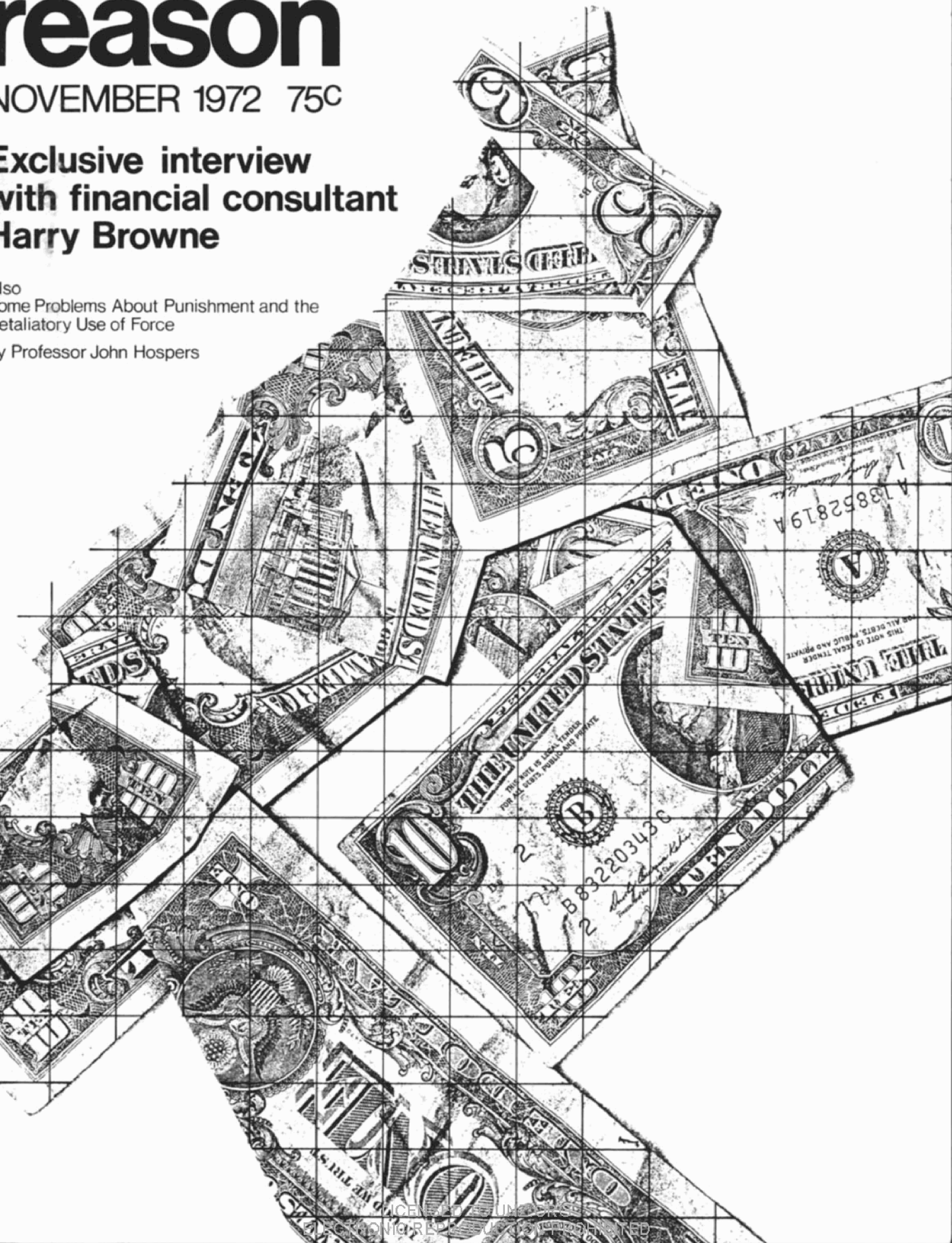
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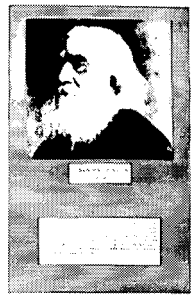

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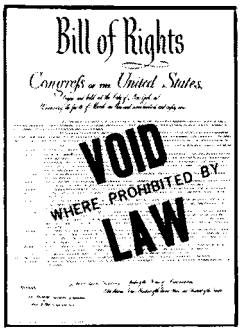

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YOUR MONEY AND THE NEXT DEVALUATION

an interview with HARRY BROWNE

In 1969 Harry Browne published a book filled with radical economic ideas: HOW YOU CAN PROFIT FROM THE COMING DEVALUATION. *Those who read the book and followed the investment suggestions* did *profit from the predicted December 1971 devaluation. And everyone who read the book (it sold over 100,000 copies, appearing on the* NEW YORK TIMES *bestseller list twice) received an excellent analysis of the market, the function of money, the banking system, inflation, and devaluation. Browne's* DEVALUATION *book is the only bestseller we know of that has exposed to a large segment of the public a correct (and counter-establishment) account of the relationship between government and the money supply.*

Mr. Browne, a former investment counselor who has written and lectured on economics and related subjects for ten years, has appeared on hundreds of radio and television shows, always with extraordinary audience response. He is seen by many as the "investors' expert" on devaluation and related subjects, and his views on the significance of monetary developments since the publication of HOW YOU CAN PROFIT FROM THE COMING DEVALUATION *are in great demand. Mr. Browne recently consented to be interviewed by REASON's correspondent, Donna Rasnake, and REASON is pleased to be first to publish an interview with Harry Browne on this subject.*

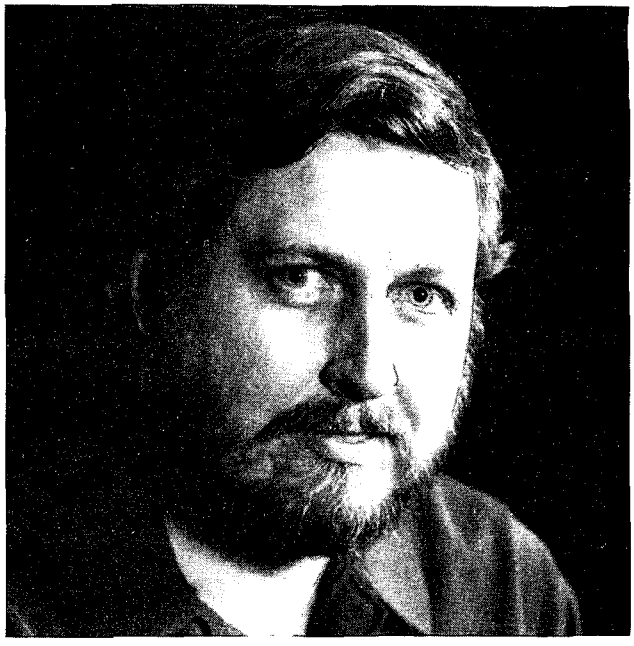
REASON: In 1969, you published *HOW YOU CAN PROFIT FROM THE COMING DEVALUATION.* Would you first of all summarize the theme of that book for us?

BROWNE: In that book, I said that a devaluation of the dollar was inevitable, and 90% certain by the end of 1971; that a full-scale depression on the order of 1929 or worse was unavoidable; and that there was a great chance that runaway inflation might eventually destroy completely the present American currency.

I also said that the first two of those events were inevitable—due to causes that had already taken place and so could not be altered. And I said that, while it was too late to change the national course of events, there was a great deal an individual could do to save himself or even profit from the situation.

REASON: Why are these events inevitable? What are the causes that have already taken place?

BROWNE: Inflation isn't a mysterious phenomenon; it is the direct result of action taken by the federal government to stimulate the economy by increasing the issuance of paper money over and above the amount of gold in reserve to back it. The new paper money causes immediate dislocations and adverse effects upon some sectors of the economy (while



visibly benefiting other sectors).

Once the new money has passed through the economy, problems are created throughout the economy (called a recession) that can only be countered with larger infusions of paper money. Eventually, the government is left with only two alternatives: (1) stop the excess printing of money and let the problems come to light (causing a depression); or (2) continue the inflation and risk the possibility of a runaway inflation—in which prices change daily or hourly.

Although timing is never fully predictable in these things, we've apparently reached the stage where these events are far more than just remote, distant possibilities.

REASON: In your book, you predicted a presidential wage-price freeze—which happened in August 1971. Do you see . . .

BROWNE: Excuse me for interrupting, but I'd like to correct that premise before you ask the question. Many people have congratulated me for making that prediction—which, I'm afraid, isn't true. Although I've been aware of such a possibility, I didn't explicitly predict the kind of freeze that happened. I suggested that during the next depression, wages and prices might be frozen to keep them from *dropping*, in a foolish attempt to end the depression that way. If I was of help in foreseeing the August 1971 freeze by what I said in the book, it was only in suggesting that the reader be ready for *any* political possibility.

REASON: Do you see any hope now for lessening of economic controls? Or do you think things are going to get worse?

BROWNE: It's possible that some individual controls will be dropped or softened—as they become obviously unworkable. But I expect the overall control situation to get continually worse. Where it will all end is anyone's guess, but I'm prepared for the worst.

REASON: What effects do wage and price controls have on inflation?

BROWNE: None. Inflation isn't caused by businessmen, consumers or labor unions. It's caused by federal action to increase the money supply. Wage and price controls only divert price increases to uncontrolled areas which are usually not included in price indexes. Because they pervert normal spending and working habits, they cause dislocations similar to those created by an end of inflation—which is a depression.

REASON: Do you foresee more import controls?

BROWNE: I foresee more controls that will make it harder for American dollars to go out of the country. There will probably be a variety of such controls.

REASON: What effect do such controls have on the dollar and the world economy?

BROWNE: In the short term, they can make the dollar more valuable by its scarcity abroad. But in the long term, they make the dollar more worthless because it becomes less universally usable. Such controls also hurt the American economy as much or more than they hurt other economies.

REASON: In what way?

BROWNE: First, they deprive American consumers of products and services they want and have depended upon—thus decreasing their standards of living; they're required to substitute with less desirable products. Second, foreign sellers don't *give* their products away; they, in effect, trade them for American products. If they don't sell their products here, they can't buy American products—thereby hurting American firms that depend upon foreign markets.

REASON: Was the last devaluation sufficient?

BROWNE: No. The American dollar still requires support by foreign central banks to keep it from dropping. They do this, in accordance with an international agreement, by buying dollars with their own currencies any time the dollar appears to be dropping below the agreed-upon minimum. The foreign governments and banks can't keep this up indefinitely—because they buy the dollars with new issuances of their own currencies, thereby increasing inflation in their own countries.

REASON: Is another devaluation imminent?

BROWNE: I don't know. I only know it could happen anytime from this moment to a year or so from now.

REASON: In you book, you suggested that when the devaluation came, it wouldn't be presented as the confession of a bankrupt government, but possibly as a political *coup*—which is precisely what happened. Do you think the President might do that again just before the election? Or is he more likely to wait until after the election?

BROWNE: I think it's a mistake to attribute too much timing power to politicians. There were many people who told me a year ago that the President wouldn't devalue the dollar until after the 1972 election. But when the time came, he had no choice.

If governments *could* control such things, they might never devalue. It's easy to see that governments are failures at running businesses and that they cause hopeless problems by regulating such things as electric power and prices. Why should they be any better at timing currency devaluations? Things never go as they expect or promise.

REASON: In light of developments since the writing of your book, how much of a devaluation do you forecast?

"Another devaluation could happen anytime."

BROWNE: The devaluation might take place through one gigantic change in the redemption price of gold, or it might be a continuing series of small devaluations—something like the one we've already had.

It should also be recognized that all the major currencies are greatly inflated.

REASON: Including the Swiss franc and the German mark?

BROWNE: Yes. As a result, all major currencies are overpriced in relation to gold. And since gold is vital as the only realistic means of settling international payments, its price must become more realistic in terms of *all* currencies. This means that a unilateral devaluation by the U.S. won't be the final resolution of the problem.

So I foresee a repricing of gold in all major currencies—but by differing amounts from currency to currency. The price in U.S. dollars will probably be altered eventually to $70-100, while the price in Swiss francs or German marks will also go up, but not by as large an amount. This will result in new currency exchange rates in which the stronger currencies will cost much more when purchased with U.S. dollars.

This resolution may come about through a formal agreement among the governments involved—or it may come about through a series of unilateral devaluations by each of the governments.

The gold price I'm referring to is the amount of gold a government will pay out when its currency is presented for redemption. This, of course, is different from the price of gold purchased by individuals in the free market.

REASON: Which types of investments would profit most from such a realignment of currencies and gold redemption prices?

BROWNE: Gold bullion, gold coins, and gold stocks (depending upon the prices at which they were purchased); stronger foreign currencies; commodities that are traded largely in international markets and are priced usually in terms of strong currencies. Also, selected commodities that are imported into the U.S. that will continue to be purchased at higher prices because no ready substitute is available (when the commodities themselves are held as the investment).

REASON: Are there likely to be any tell-tale signals before a major devaluation of the dollar?

BROWNE: They've already occurred. More precise timing signals are a matter of opinion—a matter, incidentally, upon which I have no opinion. I'm glad I'm ready for one now; if the wait is longer than I expect, it will cost me very little compared with the potential gain.

REASON: What is the protection advice you gave in your book?

BROWNE: Basically, silver and gold coins, silver bullion, gold stocks, Swiss francs, some cash outside of a bank, and a hideaway "retreat" where one could escape to if conditions in the urban areas became too dangerous.

REASON: We'd like you to take these one at a time—both your reasons for each investment and specific advice regarding making the investments. First, what about gold?

BROWNE: Obviously, a higher price for gold will result if the eventual resolution I outlined comes to pass. Unfortunately, there are apparently a great many people who read my book a year or two ago, accepted its thesis, but did nothing about it. Now the price of gold is fluctuating between $65 and $70 per ounce—and a large part of the profit to be made is behind us.

REASON: Do you think it will go up further?

BROWNE: Yes, eventually. For the next year or two, I think the upside potential is about $100; however, I could be wrong and we could see a price considerably higher—possibly as high as $150. But for the present, I'm not too optimistic about higher gold prices. Basically, I suggest that gold bullion or gold coins shouldn't be bought unless the price drops below $55. Whether one should hold on to what he already has is a separate question—depending upon whether his objectives are long-term or short-term.

REASON: Why haven't gold stocks risen more in view of the almost doubling of the price of gold over the past year?

BROWNE: That's a different story. The South African gold companies sell their output to the South African government, which either holds it in their reserves or sells it in the free market. Most of the gold produced lately has been held in reserve—for which the companies are paid only the equivalent of $35 per ounce.

When the South African government sells more in the free market, they will pass the increased profits on to the companies. Then the profits of those companies should increase dramatically.

As a result, I don't think it's too late to buy South African gold stocks—even though most of them have already increased in price by between 20 and 200 percent. However, anyone buying for the long term should be prepared for the possibility of a drop in gold stock prices before they go up further. Anyone intending to trade in and out of the market on a short-term basis is faced with the problem of trying to outguess the South African government; will prices go up from here, or drop first and then go up?

REASON: What about American gold stocks?

BROWNE: Homestake is the only real U.S. producer whose stock can be traded easily. It still remains a speculative possibility. Canadian stocks remain a good bet, but their prices are rather erratic. Even at $70 per ounce, none of the major ones have produced dramatic profits to the investor. I'm generally wary of them.

REASON: How knowledgeable need a person be to profitably speculate in gold stocks? What do most brokers know about them?

BROWNE: In the absence of any more specific competence, an individual can invest in them by purchasing a broad range of South African stocks—perhaps ten or so. Some of them won't do as well as others, but he'll probably come out ahead.

For more specific help, a Swiss bank that handles the purchase of the stocks for you will probably be able to make more competent suggestions. Just don't expect the bank's specialist to be the mythical, infallible "gnome of Zurich." In addition, there are a few U.S. brokers that pay more than average attention to gold stocks but they're hard to find. Plus the fact that they usually don't share my general thesis regarding future economic conditions.

REASON: Are there any that do?

BROWNE: I've received a lot of help from John Weber at Investors' Financial Services in Van Nuys, California. He shares my general view of the future—although we disagree on some of the interim possibilities.

REASON: Let's move onto silver. Have you changed your mind about silver since you wrote the book?

BROWNE: Yes and no. I still expect a dramatic increase in price eventually. But it's taken so much longer than I expected that I don't expect anyone else to share my viewpoint. For the long term, I don't see anything wrong with buying silver at $1.80 per ounce. But short-term purchases at that price could be dangerous—especially if too much leverage is used.

"Silver coins are still a good buy at present prices."

REASON: Silver seems to be demonitized, operating as an independent commodity—apart from the price of gold, exchange rates or inflation. What has happened to the traditional 16/1 ratio of gold to silver?

BROWNE: The 16/1 ratio has never had any real basis. It was once decreed by the U.S. government when both metals were serving as backing for the currency. I've never assumed that the price of silver would automatically follow the price of gold. In the book, I pointed out that a drastic U.S. devaluation—in contrast to the British pound—would automatically increase the price of silver in dollars. Now,however, the pound is more likely to sink along with the dollar, ruling out a windfall price in silver from a devaluation. But I believe that pure supply-and-demand factors will cause the price of silver to go up eventually.

REASON: What about silver coins?

BROWNE: They're still a good buy at present prices. They can be purchased as a safer substitute for silver bullion (because their option as spending money provides a floor at $1.38 per ounce), or they can be purchased as a secure source of purchasing power if the dollar should collapse totally.

REASON: Why?

BROWNE: Because silver coins have enough recognition worldwide as a purchasing medium with intrinsic value that they would undoubtedly be the first exchange medium to come on the market after a currency became totally worthless.

REASON: What would make the currency worthless?

BROWNE: A runaway inflation. Once started, it's almost impossible to stop. You'd reach a point where a head of lettuce might cost a billion paper dollars. Soon after that, the paper currency would be totally unacceptable to anyone. This would be followed by a period of barter, then a period in which individuals would accept certain commodities that they didn't intend to use but which they knew were in general demand and could be traded easily for something desired. Then I think people would start accepting silver coins in payment for commodities—because they're easier to handle than the commodities.

REASON: So you're suggesting holding silver coins for such a possibility?

BROWNE: Yes. They'll increase in value along with the price of silver bullion. So even if the dreaded runaway inflation never comes, holding silver coins should serve as a profitable form of insurance.

REASON: How likely is a runaway inflation?

BROWNE: At the time I wrote the book, I thought it might be about one chance in three. Now I think it's at least a 50% possibility.

REASON: Isn't it possible that silver coins could be nationalized or outlawed?

BROWNE: If it happened after the runaway inflation, the decree would be meaningless. No government without a currency can enforce its decrees very easily.

If it happened before then, the price of coins would probably drop—for lack of an open market in which to trade them. Eventually, the price would go higher, however, for lack of an open market in which to *buy* them.

I don't consider this a major possibility because there doesn't appear to be any apparent gain to the government in outlawing silver coins. Any political move is possible, however. So an investor may want to keep his purchasing-power coins hidden near him and his silver-investment coins in a Swiss bank.

REASON: The runaway inflation possibilities bring us to the retreat concept. Why should an individual have a retreat?

BROWNE: As an insurance policy against three possibilities: (1) the chaos that would follow runaway inflation; (2) a broadening of the pattern of violence that has occurred in recent years; or (3) as a place to flee a tyrannical government that he felt he was personally vulnerable to.

REASON: What are the requirements for a retreat?

BROWNE: They vary according to an individual's estimate of the threats, where he lives, and how comfortable and safe he wants to be. Generally, it should be somehwere he considers remote, a place not likely to be found easily by looters, and a place that's easily accessible for him to reach on short notice.

It should be stocked with enough provisions to survive for a year or so—with additional elements that will make it possible for him to survive longer through the growing of food, capture of game, etc.

REASON: Your investment program includes having cash outside of a bank. Why?

BROWNE: Because I believe there will be widespread bank failures eventually. They could occur very suddenly. Even small-scale bank liquidity problems could create a great inconvenience. I think it's valuable to have at least a month's spending money somehwere safe. In a time of crisis, cash will be at a premium and will probably buy more than it could during more normal times.

REASON: What about Swiss francs? Why is that a part of the program? And why not some other currency?

BROWNE: The Swiss franc is beset by inflationary problems—as are all major currencies. But its enormous gold backing makes it the most likely currency to weather the coming storms. Money kept in Swiss francs in a Swiss bank will preserve wealth during a period of crisis while other elements of the investment program are being used to survive. Even without a catastrophe, it should continue to appreciate against the dollar.

REASON: The Swiss franc has risen around 15% over the past two years. Is it wise to continue using it as an investment vehicle?

BROWNE: Yes. The largest downside risk at any time is about 4%, while the upside potential is far greater—perhaps 20-30% or more.

REASON: What about the new Swiss tax on Swiss franc accounts?

BROWNE: That's a problem. It's caused by the Swiss government's misguided attempts to adhere to the agreement to keep the dollar propped up. The new tax is 2% per quarter—or 8% per year. It applies to savings deposits of over approximately $13,000 and current account deposits of over $26,000. I don't know how long it will last—but I'd be surprised if it were over six months.

REASON: Why?

BROWNE: Because a new official currency rate should be established by that time—temporarily eliminating the need to discourage the import of dollars into Switzerland. Either that or just the decrease in deposits might make the dollar stronger and allow the Swiss government to lift the tax.

REASON: What do you suggest an individual do?

BROWNE: He can open an account now in German marks instead—and then have them exchanged for Swiss francs when the tax is lifted. I would *not* leave the money in dollars in the bank.

REASON: That completes the list of investments suggested in the book. Is there anything you would change concerning your recommendations?

BROWNE: No, but I would like to emphasize more what was already emphasized in the book. Decide whether your objectives are conservative (to protect what you have) or speculative (to make money from the coming events). If conservative, lean more to holding Swiss francs or German marks for the long term. If speculative, try to buy silver and gold on dips and watch things much more closely.

REASON: Are there any other speculative investments that conform to the general principles of the book?

BROWNE: Yes, currency futures are one. They're very much like commodity futures. They're highly speculative and require close supervision. But, in general, the principle is to buy Swiss francs or

"I believe there will be widespread bank failures eventually."

German marks when they are near the low points of the official fluctuating ranges, and then sell them when they reach the high points (provided you don't expect a new currency alignment in the very near future). You can also trade in other currencies, but that requires greater knowledge and timing decisions. The profits (or losses) in currency futures are extremely high because the leverage in the Chicago currency market is approximately fifty to one.

REASON: Do *you* speculate in currency futures?

BROWNE: Do you cheat on your wife?

REASON: Do you know whether the U.S. government intercepts letters from the U.S. to foreign banks?

BROWNE: I doubt it, but I wouldn't be amazed if it turned out that it does.

REASON: Is there any way to deal with Swiss banks without being vulnerable to U.S. government supervision?

BROWNE: One expensive way is to go to Canada or Mexico whenever you want to correspond with the bank or telephone them. There are other ways, but they're rather complicated.

REASON: What risks do you see in holding Swiss francs or in using a Swiss bank?

BROWNE: Further U.S. controls could make it necessary to lie or to break the law to continue dealing with them. It's already required to report such holdings on your income tax return. I also think it's advisable to deal with more than one bank—the number depending upon the size of your holdings. Swiss banks can fail, too—even though the probabilities are much safer than with respect to U.S. banks.

REASON: How can one open a Swiss bank account? How much money is required?

BROWNE: Some banks will open an account with as little as $250. Others have higher requirements. Many local U.S. banks have the American Banking Association's directory of foreign banks. You can select a half-dozen Swiss banks from the directory, and write to them for information.

REASON: How can you keep apprised of changes in regulations, ways of bypassing the regulations, etc.—such as the new 8% Swiss tax on Swiss franc accounts?

BROWNE: Some financial newsletters (such as the Harry Schultz letter in London) regularly report such developments and make suggestions. Unfortunately, the suggestions are often too general to apply to all possible situations. Economic Research Counselors in San Diego opens Swiss accounts for customers (without charge to the customer), keeps them advised of changes in regulations, and makes suggestions.

REASON: How well has the investment program suggested in the book done so far?

BROWNE: That depends upon when, during the last two years since publication, the individual enacted it. But anyone who acted prior to the fall of 1971 should have done quite well. Everything but silver has increased substantially between 1970-71 and 1972.

REASON: How do you feel about other investments—common stocks, real estate, mutual funds, etc.?

BROWNE: The same as I did when I wrote the book. Such investments have risen and fallen since then—as they'll continue to do. If an individual wants to supervise closely a liquid investment (like common stocks), he might do very well in the interim—as long as he realizes he's speculating, not engaging in a conservative investment. Less liquid investments (like real estate) are highly dangerous because the crash could come without specific warning.

The individual who wants to be able to relax and turn his attention to other areas of his life should stay out of *all* traditional types of investments now—in my opinion. In addition to possible appreciation of value, the recommended program will provide peace of mind.

REASON: Would you explain the International Monetary Fund and Special Drawing Rights?

BROWNE: The IMF is an organization of governmental agencies whose chief purpose is to try to keep weak currencies from falling in value. The SDR's are basically an international reserve currency (partially back by gold) that is similar in foundation to the currency of any nation.

REASON: Will the creation of SDR's head off international crises?

BROWNE: They can help in short-term crises—but as with any governmental intervention, the help comes at the immediate expense of the stronger currencies; and in the long term, the SDR's will simply make the final catastrophe worse.

REASON: Can you give buy-sell recommendations for various types of investments?

BROWNE: No more specifically than I have already in this interview. For a given individual, more specific suggestions can be made—based upon his personal objectives.

REASON: Do you think it will again become legal for American citizens to own gold bullion?

BROWNE: It's possible, but I seriously doubt it.

REASON: Do you think the U.S. government will return to the gold standard?

BROWNE: It's possible at a gold redemption price of $100 per ounce or so—but, again, I seriously doubt it.

REASON: What can be done to make it more possible?

BROWNE: Become God and change the whole direction of the universe.

REASON: What *can* an individual do to improve the general economic and monetary situation?

BROWNE: In my view, nothing. All such attempts are futile and they divert valuable time from the more useful activities of making the most of one's own individual life.

REASON: Isn't that a defeatist attitude?

BROWNE: No more so than suggesting that one will never be able to fly by flapping his arms. Things are as they are. I believe that the realistic individual will accept the broad social conditions for what they are, and then concentrate his attention on the hundreds of choices available to him to make sure that the social problems aren't problems for him.

REASON: In what way?

BROWNE: There's a great deal an individual can do to protect himself from the monetary crisis—as we've been discussing. In the same way, there's also a great deal he can do to reduce his own taxes—even though there's nothing he can do to reduce the general tax rates. The same principle applies to *any* governmental interference.

REASON: Are you talking about breaking laws?

BROWNE: Not necessarily. All laws contain many loopholes; they have to in order to be at all effective. The energy one is tempted to spend trying to change the world can be spent more usefully by looking for loopholes.

REASON: Is there any published information or other types of sources for discovering such loopholes?

BROWNE: No; if there were, the loopholes would become ineffective. Anytime you organize such things, they become important enough to close the loopholes. The key is individual determination to find them, to look further when one loophole doesn't work in one's own case or when it's closed by a new law.

REASON: Are you going to publish a sequel to *DEVALUATION*?

BROWNE: At this time, I don't intend to. I've often been asked that, but I've already said in the original book just about everything I could say. I know very little to add to it. In fact, I've said about 50% more than I know in this interview.

REASON: Will you be publishing anything else soon?

BROWNE: Yes. My next book will be *HOW I FOUND FREEDOM IN AN UNFREE WORLD.* I've just finished it and it will be published by Macmillan in February.

REASON: It sounds like an autobiography.

BROWNE: Yes, but it isn't. There are personal experiences included, but it is a presentation of the principles I used in order to gain freedom.

REASON: What do you mean by freedom?

BROWNE: I define freedom as the opportunity to live your life as you want to live it.

REASON: That sounds like a rather narrow view. Doesn't one person's freedom—when defined in that way—conflict with another's?

BROWNE: My book isn't addressed to society; it's addressed to an individual reader. I'm not offering a plan by which society can be reconstructed so that everyone is free; I'm suggesting a way by which an individual can be free to live his life as he wants to—regardless of what others choose to do with theirs. And the way doesn't require changing or re-educating anyone else.

REASON: What is that way?

BROWNE: Well, the book is 360 pages long—and I see that we have only 21 hours left for the interview; I don't think I could cover it entirely. Basically, the book presents principles that refute the common assumptions by which most people allow themselves to be enslaved—such as "the government is more powerful than you are," "the kind of freedom you want is immoral," "an individual has responsibilities that interfere with his freedom,". etc.

Then a series of techniques are presented (none of which involve changing other people) that hopefully demonstrate to the reader that he has many alternatives that he may have overlooked.

The techniques are designed to free the reader of *any* restriction on his freedom—whether that be governmental regulations, high taxes, social restrictions, marriage or family problems, job requirements, lack of free time, etc.

REASON: Do you believe the techniques will work?

BROWNE: They have for me. And I've tried to present them in a way whereby the reader doesn't have to do exactly what I've done in order to be free. No one can prescribe a useful life for someone else, but there are a great many alternatives from which to choose—alternatives that most people overlook.

REASON: Have you written any other books?

BROWNE: None published.

REASON: Are you currently writing a column or newsletter or publishing any material anywhere?

BROWNE: No. I'm living off the royalties from my books and generally enjoying myself.

REASON: Doing what?

BROWNE: Enjoying operas, good books, good companionships, and travelling.

REASON: Well, that brings us about as far as we can get from the current monetary crisis—so thank you very much for this interview.

BROWNE: Thank you.

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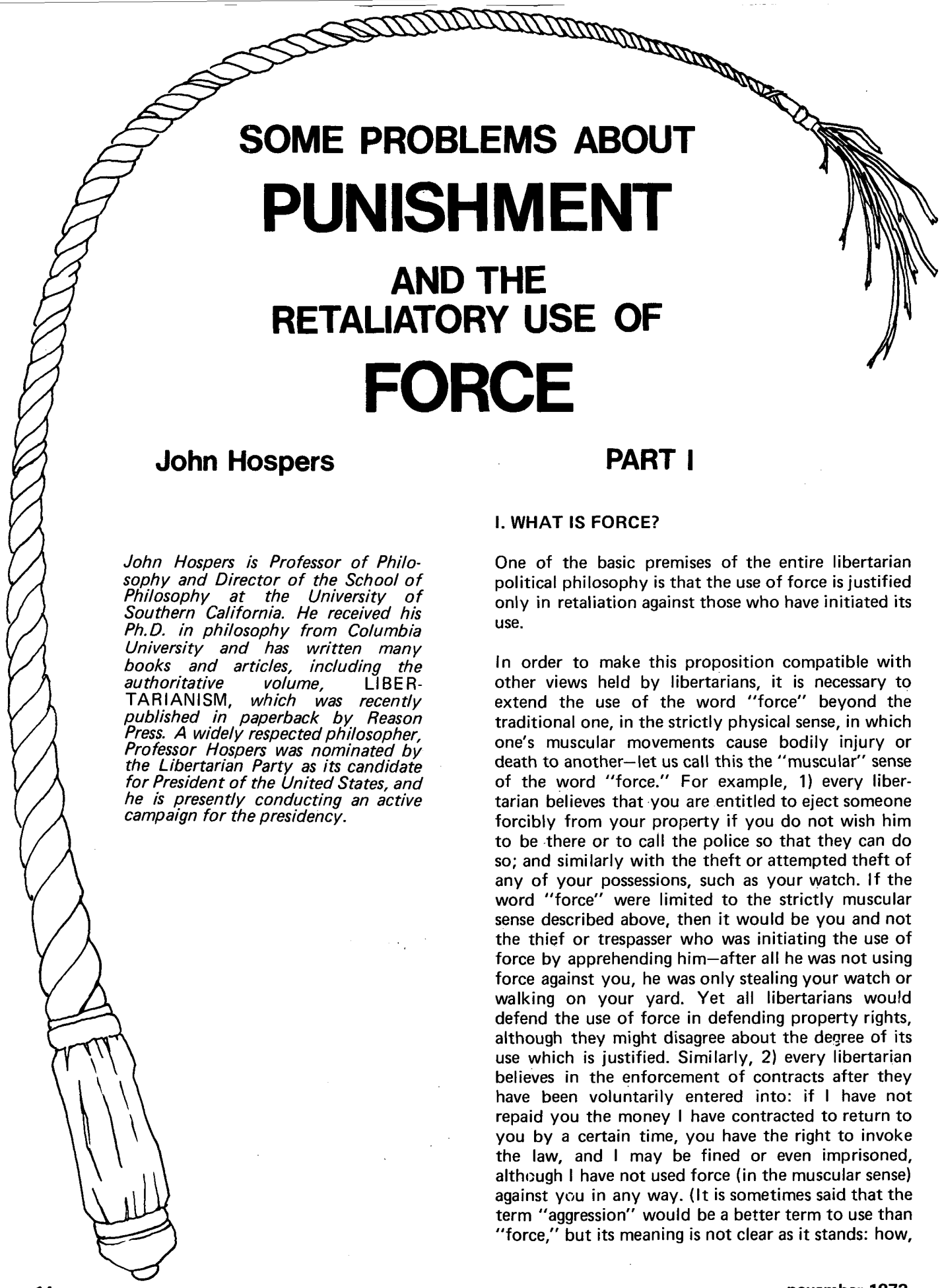

SOME PROBLEMS ABOUT PUNISHMENT AND THE RETALIATORY USE OF FORCE

John Hospers

PART I

John Hospers is Professor of Philosophy and Director of the School of Philosophy at the University of Southern California. He received his Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia University and has written many books and articles, including the authoritative volume, LIBERTARIANISM, *which was recently published in paperback by Reason Press. A widely respected philosopher, Professor Hospers was nominated by the Libertarian Party as its candidate for President of the United States, and he is presently conducting an active campaign for the presidency.*

I. WHAT IS FORCE?

One of the basic premises of the entire libertarian political philosophy is that the use of force is justified only in retaliation against those who have initiated its use.

In order to make this proposition compatible with other views held by libertarians, it is necessary to extend the use of the word "force" beyond the traditional one, in the strictly physical sense, in which one's muscular movements cause bodily injury or death to another—let us call this the "muscular" sense of the word "force." For example, 1) every libertarian believes that you are entitled to eject someone forcibly from your property if you do not wish him to be there or to call the police so that they can do so; and similarly with the theft or attempted theft of any of your possessions, such as your watch. If the word "force" were limited to the strictly muscular sense described above, then it would be you and not the thief or trespasser who was initiating the use of force by apprehending him—after all he was not using force against you, he was only stealing your watch or walking on your yard. Yet all libertarians would defend the use of force in defending property rights, although they might disagree about the degree of its use which is justified. Similarly, 2) every libertarian believes in the enforcement of contracts after they have been voluntarily entered into: if I have not repaid you the money I have contracted to return to you by a certain time, you have the right to invoke the law, and I may be fined or even imprisoned, although I have not used force (in the muscular sense) against you in any way. (It is sometimes said that the term "aggression" would be a better term to use than "force," but its meaning is not clear as it stands: how,

in not repaying my debt to you, have I aggressed against you? It could turn out that I have or that I haven't, depending on what meaning is assigned to the word "aggressed.")

It is important, then, if we are to commit ourselves to the principle that the only justifiable use of force is in retaliation against its initiation, that we be clear as to what we mean by "the use of force." Let us attempt to come at this concept by means of a few examples.

1. I see a man beating his wife and conclude that this is a paradigm case of the use of force, until I discover that she is a masochist who wanted to be beaten and actually asked for it. I now conclude that this action is not properly described as the use of force, since the concept of force involves the element of *unwillingness*. (Or I may, if I wish, still call it the use of force but qualify this statement by saying that it is a force willingly received and then add that it is only the use of force *unwillingly*—to the recipient—that the libertarian is talking about when he condemns the use of force. There is no use of force when there is no *victim* of it, and the person who wants to be beaten is not properly described as a victim of the beating but only as a recipient of it.)

2. I intend to strike the punching bag but you step in the way and I hit your nose instead. Have I used force? As long as you did not wish to be hit in the nose, you are a victim of it, in spite of the fact that my hitting you was accidental. One could then distinguish the accidental from the intentional use of force, and attach greater condemnation and greater penalties to the use of the intentional than to the accidental kind, although I see no reason why both should not count as instances of the use of force.

3. An employer fires an employee, for whatever reason. Liberals and Marxists are fond of citing this kind of thing as an example of force or coercion, but this example will not detain any libertarian for a moment. Unless there was a contract specifying that the employee was guaranteed his job for a certain period, the employee is free to leave it for whatever reason at any time, and the employer is free to terminate the employee's services at any time. (Sometimes there is a contractual agreement that the employer must give 30 days' notice before dismissing the employee and the employee must give similar notice before he quits.) In each case, it is simply an example of the nonrenewal of a voluntary arrangement between them; no use of force is involved.

4. Professor Hayek uses the example[1] of two men who settle in the desert some miles apart, each attempting to make a living there. Both succeed to an extent, but after the expenditure of a year of labor and considerable money, the first man, A, runs out of water. A goes to the second man, B, and asks to buy some water; B refuses. A asks to borrow some, and again B refuses. Obviously A can't continue to live there without water; the refusal of water amounts to either a death sentence for A or the necessity of leaving the desert. Hayek appears to conclude that since water is an essential commodity B is coercing A by refusing him water. Libertarians would not concur in this judgment; the fact that A ran out of water is not B's responsibility. Perhaps (morally) B *should* give or sell him some water, but A doesn't have a right to B's water, and in any case B did not use force against A. Instead of saying that B forced A to leave the desert, it seems to me much more accurate to say that "the desert has beaten him."

Of course the example could easily be changed so as to include force. Suppose that A attempts at gunpoint to make B give him the water; then he has surely used force (or threat of force). There is no doubt that this is force, and moreover that it is force *not* used in retaliation against the initiation of force. Thus, if one thinks that A's action is justified, he cannot consistently also think that the initiation of force is never justified.

What then *is* the use of force? In *LIBERTARIANISM* (p. 23) I defined "force" (following Tannehill) as "behavior which requires the unwilling involvement of another person or persons." If I hit you over the head, I have used force against you unless you have consented to be hit over the head. If you steal my watch from me when I am out of the house, you have used force against me because I am an unwilling victim of your action, though this would not be so if I consented to your taking it. A merchant defrauds me, and since I am an unwilling victim of his action, it comes under the heading of force.

I still think that this definition is on the right track, but it is somewhat tricky, and there are implications of it that I had not sufficiently considered.

1. Suppose I invite a group of people to my house and they become engaged in a bitter quarrel. I intensely dislike being in this situation; I don't *want* to be in it. Am I an unwilling victim of it? Not quite. The fact that I don't *want* to be in the situation is not the same as saying that I am an unwilling victim of it. I perform every day actions which I don't really want to perform but do because they are a part of my (voluntarily undertaken) job. Nobody wants to wash the dishes, but some people still do it and not through the use of force. The fact that I find the quarrel at my party unpleasant, I surely didn't want it to happen, doesn't mean that I am unwillingly involved in it: for example, I can still choose to beat a hasty retreat from the house and leave the quarrelers to themselves. If I were physically unable to leave the house, e.g., if someone pushed me against the wall so

that I couldn't get out, then it would be correct to say that force had been used. (Still, the word "unwilling" is vague; there is a sense in which I *am* unwillingly involved in the guests' actions, though it could hardly be said that force was involved.)

2. If you steal my watch, you have used force against me in that I am an unwilling victim of your action. But now suppose that you put *your* wristwatch on and drive away in your car; and suppose also that I don't want you to have your watch, because I want it for myself. I am *unwilling* for you to retain your watch; I am only willing for myself to have it. Can I say then that I am an unwilling victim of your action? Since I covet your watch, I am unwilling for you to retain it. But it would surely be ridiculous to say that you have used force by retaining in your possession the watch that you yourself have bought!

If we say (as presumably we want to say) that you are using force when you steal my watch from me, but not that you are using force when you simply retain in your possession your own watch, and if we also say that I am unwillingly involved on both occasions, then it seems that something further must be involved in use of force than the element of unwillingness. What we want to say is that in spite of the unwillingness (by me) which is present both times, the first is a case of the use of force and the second is not, because in the first case you are violating my rights and in the second case you are not. In other words, what is and is not to count as force depends on a prior theory of property rights (and doubtless of rights in general). In other words, when libertarians talk about the use of force, they can define it *only in the context of their theory of rights.*

This situation, of course, is not unprecedented in the history of thought: many terms, in the sciences for example, are theory-laden or theory-dependent in that they are defined only in the context of a certain theory. But it is nevertheless somewhat disturbing to find that we cannot define "force" "on its own," so to speak—that libertarians cannot say what they mean by "force" until they have first developed a view of human rights. Many libertarians will doubtless welcome this consequence, saying that it is what they had suspected would happen all along if one wants to use a common-sensically vague term like "force" in a more precise sense than is employed in everyday speech, just as the word "energy" can be defined precisely in physics because it has lost some (though not all) of the meaning it has in everyday expressions like "I don't have much energy today."

On the other hand, some libertarians, wishing to stick more closely to ordinary usage, will find attractive the prospect of returning to the "good old garden variety" sense, what we have called the "muscular" sense, of "force." Returning to this common usage, they would then say that a person is not justified in using force unless someone has 1) initiated the use of (muscular) force against him, *or* 2) violated a contract or other agreement with him, *or* 3) defrauded him, *or* 4) taken something that belongs to him, *or* 5) trespassed on his property, etc. These libertarian contentions would still be as true as ever, but we would not have to surrender the simple precept that there is no justification for the use of force against a person other than the prior initiation of force by him. We would have to say that there are circumstances other than the initiation of force in which retaliation is justified.

II. IS THE INITIATION OF FORCE EVER JUSTIFIABLE?

Whether or not one defines "force" in such a way that the trespasser, the thief, and the contract-violator can be said to have initiated the use of force, there are other problems. There are cases, admittedly more unusual ones, in which a person quite clearly has initiated the use of force, even in its narrower "muscular" sense, and in which some libertarians, though not all, would hold that he was justified in doing so. Some would hold, for example, that a starving man would be justified in snatching a loaf of bread from a wealthy man without the latter's consent, if doing this was necessary to prevent starvation; they would say that the starving man's life was a greater value than the wealthy man's possession, although admittedly the starving man was violating the other's property rights.

Or suppose that a physician has discovered a cure for cancer and refuses to give (or even to sell) it to you to save your wife's life; some libertarians, though not all, would hold that you would be justified in taking it from him by force. Here there is no way at all in which the physician could be said to have "aggressed" against you; he perfected the formula himself, he did it only for his own use and that of his family, and surely he has a right (though not a duty) to dispose of it in whatever way he chooses, including not imparting the secret to anyone else.

If you say the man was doing wrong in stealing the secret in order to save his wife, would you still say so if the stakes were made higher? Suppose that only an initiatory act of force would suffice to stop a plague (e.g., by universal inoculation, even upon those who because of primitive superstititions refused to be inoculated, and if not inoculated would be spreaders of the disease)? This situation is actually encountered with members of Jehovah's Witnesses, who refuse to have themselves or their children receive inoculations and blood transfusions, even if this results in their death. Or suppose that only an initiatory act of force would suffice to save a civilization? What if the man

"There could be circumstances other than the initiation of force in which retaliation is justified."

who refuses to divulge the formula (or to be inoculated) is a depressive, or a candidate for suicide, and doesn't care a whit about the fate of civilization? Just make the stakes high enough, one is tempted to say, and the answer seems clear: the higher the stakes are, the less plausible the rule of *never* initiating the use of force.

In fact, one doesn't have to make the stakes all that high. An actress is on stage about to receive the Academy Award. Millions of people are watching the event on television. At that moment her drunken husband (himself an invited guest at the proceedings) arrives in the auditorium, staggers onto the stage, and makes a blubbering fool of himself. Surely it would not be immoral to suggest that some member of the audience would have done well to give him a sock in the jaw before he got on the stage, in order to prevent the occurrence of a scene that would be the ultimate in embarrassment. Yet if anyone had done so, it would be he and not the drunken husband who was the initiator of force. Hundreds of similar examples could be adduced without much trouble.

Of course, though he didn't initiate force in the muscular sense (the man who stopped him initiated it against him), he could plausibly be said to have violated an implicit contractual agreement, not by being there (he was after all invited), but by being on the stage at that time and in that condition. But there are many other cases in which there is no such violation, say—

A ship has sunk, and 25 men are in a lifeboat designed for less than ten; a storm is approaching and all on board will sink unless the lifeboat is lightened by at least ten men. Since no one volunteers, the captain commands certain men to jump overboard. This is surely the initiation of force against these men; yet the only alternative is that they all perish. Is such initiation of force unjustified in these circumstances? If Mr. A, one of the ten, refuses the command, is he doing wrong? Lifeboat situations are admittedly peculiar, and the ethics of lifeboat situations is (as some libertarians have pointed out) admittedly different from that of civilized life; perhaps libertarians would hold that the captain is justified in making his request, and also that Mr. A is justified in refusing it. In any case, the example is food for thought for those libertarians who hold that the initiation of force is never justified in any circumstances whatever.

The following example is not from a lifeboat-type situation, and many cases like it have actually occurred. Before there was a vaccine for typhoid fever, a problem arose concerning the disposition of persons who, though not themselves ill with the disease, were the carriers of it to others; these were the "Typhoid Mary" cases of the earlier years of this century. It was dangerous to have a Typhoid Mary in the community, since if one of them was permitted to mingle freely with other people, large numbers of these people would become infected with the disease and often die from it. The question is, was it justifiable for the other members of a community to commit a Typhoid Mary to permanent isolation from them (as with lepers to a leper colony)? Here there was no question of "punishment," since punishment implies that a crime has been committed, and Typhoid Mary had committed no crime; she was just the unfortunate carrier of a dangerous disease. Was it justifiable for others to initiate the use of force against her though she had committed no wrong? If not, then many members of the community would fall ill and die through being infected by her. But if it is, then it cannot also be consistently claimed that the initiation of force is never justified.

III. FORCE VS. THREAT OF FORCE

Important though these questions are, and however libertarians may resolve them, I shall now concentrate on some problems that arise when one considers the retaliatory use of force in what might be called the "good old garden variety" sense, the "muscular" sense, of "force," the sense in which the man who starts swinging his fists at someone in a bar (who may have provoked him verbally but has taken no action against him) is initiating the use of force.

There are several questions which seem to me to require more detailed exploration than they usually receive: 1) must one wait until force has actually been used, or is the *threat* of force sufficient to justify the use of it in retaliation? 2) exactly when can one be said to be initiating it? 3) against whom is it justifiable to use it? 4) how much of it should be used? and 5) who should administer it?

As to the first question: in many cases, if you wait until force has actually been used against you, it will be too late. If you do nothing until he actually shoots, you will be dead, at which time it will be impossible to retaliate. It seems most implausible to insist that you must wait until force has actually been used; if this were adopted as a general principle, i.e.,

if it could be relied on that *everyone* would wait until he was actually attacked, the ranks of the peaceful people of the world would be decimated and their assailants would inherit the earth. Clearly some provision will have to be made to justify response to the *threat* of force.

But how serious must the threat be? If someone says to you at the height of a quarrel that he'll kill you the next time he gets a chance, is this justification for your dispatching him on the stop? To know how serious the threat is, you must know something about the background, character, and habits of the person who does the threatening: whether he is apt to threaten but not mean it, whether he means it at the time but is likely to cool off quickly, or even if he doesn't cool off whether he is likely to carry it through (some people are more talk than action), and so on. You have to make the best estimate you can of the *probability* that the threat will actually materialize if you do nothing to prevent it. A man who killed someone who was target-practicing, and who takes the mere physical proximity of firearms as a sufficient threat, is surely "jumping the gun" on retaliation. On the other hand, if a psychotic with a knife comes down the fire escape from the apartment above you every night and threatens to kill you and your children while they are asleep, and you go to the police and they say they can do nothing until a crime has actually been committed, you will feel quite justified in believing that some kind of preventive action should be taken to forestall the catastrophe. Yet where is one to draw the line with this? If a man starts to light a match inside a gunpowder plant, should you take a pessimistic view of his intentions?

Various criteria have been suggested. It has been said that you should wait until you see the whites of their eyes. This of course was intended to apply to an enemy army confronted by day (or by moonlight with the light facing them); and however useful it may once have been, it is ludicrous in an atomic age. In the case of individual confrontation with guns, the tradition of the Wild West was that the man must wait until the opponent reaches for his gun—if you shoot before that it is you who initiated the fight, and if you wait until after that it's self-defense (hence the importance of a quick draw, to shoot him first and yet have it be considered self-defense!). Of course, if he was reaching for his handkerchief at just that moment and you thought he was reaching for his gun, that's just your tough luck. But all these are only approximate and rather arbitrary criteria for very limited classes of situations. The point that is illustrated by all of them, a point which is not generally recognized, is that as a rule the retaliatory use of force *must be to some extent anticipatory*.

Now the very thought of anticipatory action, taken *before* the other person has actually done anything is quite repugnant to libertarians; it smacks of mock trials and shooting on a flimsy pretext. To take just one example: some psychologists claim to be able to predict with over 95% accuracy by means of psychological tests which children below ten will become juvenile delinquents by the time they are 15; and they have suggested putting these pre-delinquent children in special institutions, against their own and their parents' wishes if necessary, so as to prevent the crimes that these predelinquents otherwise *would* have committed. There is simply too much of 1984 in this. "We hereby choose to incarcerate you, not because you've done anything yet, but because we think you *will*." "Preventive detention" of all sorts is the perfect tool for any dictator. And yet, if the peaceful people are not to be killed off and replaced by their assailants, *something* in the way of "anticipatory use of force" must be countenanced, because of the simple fact of reality that waiting any longer may be fatal. If a mob is attacking City Hall, the police need not wait until they have destroyed lives and property before forcibly dispersing them.

Clearly the circumstances in which an act classifiable as the-warding-off-of-probable-aggression will vary so much from case to case that there is no one formula that will encompass all of them, other than the rather vague one that "the probability of being attacked (or otherwise aggressed against) must be high." To make the difficulties yet greater, often one must make this estimate of probability in a split second, before one has had any time to weigh the evidence.

IV. WHAT IS INITIATION?

How do we tell who has initiated the aggressive act? There are times when the answer is obvious: someone gets drunk and starts a fight with an innocent bystander. But already the case is more complex when the situation changes a bit: Mr. A says some insulting things about Mr. B's wife, and in order to stop him B gives A a punch in the jaw. Here presumably the libertarian position would be that B's action is the initiation of force and therefore wrong, albeit understandable and perhaps to a degree excusable (although many people, presumably nonlibertarians, would disagree even here and say that B was totally justified in his action even though he *was* initiating the use of force). But now suppose that Mr. C raises his fist at Mr. D, and D incorrectly interprets

this as a sign that C is going to hit him, so D hits C instead. Who has now initiated the aggression? C in fact was not going to hit D, and D didn't know it and it seemed to him, perhaps because he was a bit paranoid anyway, that C was.

Who started the family quarrel? The husband says to visitors in the presence of his wife, "My wife doesn't want me to tell you this, but before I married her . . . ." and tells a story he knows his wife doesn't want him to tell. She becomes angry and, being extremely jealous, she cuts the legs off of a new pair of pants he wants to wear that evening. A bitter quarrel follows. Did he start it by telling a story from the past that he knew she didn't like, or did she start it by using the scissors on his pants? "After all," he says, "she's insanely jealous, and she ought to get over it." "But you knew I was that way and still you told that story," she says. "Must I respect every hangup you've got?" he retorts. As any psychiatrist will testify, both were aggressors and aggressed against. The event just escalated from a small and insignificant beginning.

When the parties involved are not individuals but governments (or individuals acting in their capacity as government leaders), it is the exception rather than the rule to be able to brand one part or the other as *the* aggressor. Doubtless the Nazis initiated aggression in 1936 when they occupied the Rhineland; but traditionally the Rhineland had been German territory, and most Germans felt that this territory had been taken from them by the Versailles Treaty. Indeed, Germany's principal aim throughout the 1930s, when the Allied Powers had promised to rectify the savage Versailles Treaty but did not, was to take upon themselves the job of the rectification; Germany considered herself only to be retaliating against the aggression committed through the Versailles Treaty by the Allies. And before that—well, it becomes even more hopelessly entangled. The assassination of the Archduke at Sarajevo in 1914 set off a chain reaction of events in the different countries, each of which was considered by the leaders of the country in question to be a defensive measure against incipient or threatened aggression by others. History of course abounds with such examples.

Mary Queen of Scots had made no overt move against Queen Elizabeth I; but Elizabeth finally (on the insistence of her advisers) had her killed. Was it the initiation of aggression or was it self-defense? Mary had followers throughout England and Scotland who would surely have killed Elizabeth and set themselves in power. It was clearly the one or the other. Exiled, Mary would have been a constant and increasing threat. She would surely have killed Elizabeth and her entire staff without a tremor of regret if she had had the chance. Who was initiating the use of force?

You inherit a kingdom. You have great plans for the founding of a true libertarian society, in which the government shall never initiate aggression against anyone. But there is a band of rebels near the northern border who threaten war if you are installed as chief leader. They are misguided, of course; they don't understand your plans and intentions. You want peace and prosperity for everyone, the rebels included. But meanwhile they are a threat to you and your entire regime; they will kill you and topple the first really libertarian society in history if they are given the chance. So, reluctantly, you decide that in the interests of everyone in the libertarian society you are beginning to install, you have to oppose them by force of arms—there is *no other way*, for they won't listen to reason. It is self-defense on your part, of course. If only they weren't so blind, you wouldn't have to start your regime with such a dirty job. So you do it—and as a result their numbers increase, the aggressive acts they suspected you would perform all along have now become a reality, and the rebellion grows. Were you initiating aggression, or was it self-defense?

In relations between nations, it is usually assumed that the first nation to cross the borders of another is the aggressor. But the situation is not so simple as this; when nations are involved, the situation is immensely more complicated:

> . . . Usually the "aggressor" is simple-mindedly branded as the first state that crosses another state's borders with troops. The "collective security" principle holds that all the nations of the world are then duty-bound to get together and use *force majeure* against the "aggressor," and to defeat his evil designs. In practice, in our century, the U.S. has taken upon itself the "collective security" role, the White Knight in shining armor that sets out to defend the entire world against the Bad Dragon of aggression.

The fallacies and dangers in this doctrine abound at every hand. The first problem is the simplistic definition of "aggression." The analogy, usually implicit . . . , is always taken from aggression by one *individual* upon another. If Smith is seen to be jumping on and stealing a watch from Jones, then Smith can easily be labelled the "aggressor," and police may be called upon to defend Jones and

apprehend the criminal for return of the loot. But while we might be able to say easily that Jones deserved to have the watch and that therefore Smith was an aggressor, the same can scarcely be said for state X which has been invaded by state Y. For to call state Y an "aggressor" *per se* must mean that the present territorial boundaries of state X are somehow morally and rightfully its own, in the same way that Jones' watch is rightfully *his* own. But since national territories have invariably been acquired by *previous* aggression rather than by voluntary social contract, to

> leap automatically to the defense of the invaded State is an absurdity. On what moral grounds are we to cry "halt" and thereby ratify every aggression *previous* to, say, December 1971, as legitimate and moral?[2]

The Israelis claim that the territory now occupied by the state of Israel is their ancestral home and was taken from them by conquest and occupied by interlopers (Arabs, Turks, etc.) during the intervening centuries—so that they are now reclaiming what is their own. (There is a problem here, since the original occupants are long since dead, how the harm can be undone by the retaking of the territories by the great-great-great-etc. grandchildren of the original victims.) The Arabs, for their part, claim that the territory has been their home for many centuries and that it has now been taken away from them by the Israelis. Who is right? Both are right, in that both peoples have at various times occupied this area for long periods. Both are wrong, in that neither people occupied the territory originally: both groups took it by force from others who occupied it before them, in *still earlier* acts of aggression (Israelites took it from the Canaanites, for example, who probably took it from some people before that). What about those who occupied it for the *first* time, before anyone else had it? No one knows who they are; and in any case they are long since dead, probably killed to the last man by the first invaders who took it over. There is simple *no* way in which such a situation can be rectified after the damage has been done, any more than a murdered man can be brought to life again in the interests of justice. To point to one group or the other and say that they are the initiators of aggression is grotesque: they are all tarred with the same brush.[3]

(To be concluded in REASON*'s January 1973 issue)*

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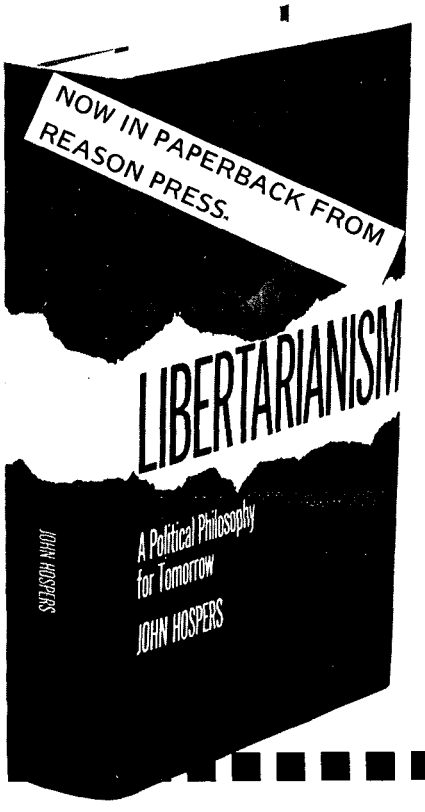
[1] F. von Hayek, *THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY* (University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 136.

[2] Murray Rothbard, "The U.N. and the Law," *LIBERTARIAN FORUM*, December 1971, p. 1.

[3] See, on this point, John Hospers, "Property," *THE PERSONALIST*, Vol. 53, Summer 1972, pp. 163-73.

The case for "the idea whose time has come" . . .



LIBERTARIANISM

BY JOHN HOSPERS, PH.D., DIRECTOR, SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The first authoritative study of this revolutionary political philosophy—the fast-growing ideological movement that has won converts from the ranks of the New Leftists and Goldwater conservatives. Here, at last, is an expert dissertation on what this unique philosophy is all about. How did it come into being? Why does it appeal to young intellectuals although it is radically different from movements with which they had been allied in the past? Is it, as they believe, the ideal philosophy for the world today?
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It is not unreasonable to expect a small percentage of any population to be more perceptive than the rest. In what other way might we account for the germination of so many kinds of interests, pursuits, and mental activities? Someone, somewhere, at sometime had to be more perceptive than others in some matter or leaders in any field could not be identified . . . nor indeed would the field itself exist, for the existence of different fields presupposes divergent points of view.

Consider the idea that 4% of the population might be the number appropriately destined to lead a society out of sterile contentment toward the edge of awareness. Such a view supports the idea that there are decisions which can be better made by the very few than by the many. An oligarchic think tank may be appropriate even within a largely "democratic" system. If it were not so, what role should democracy play in, for example, aesthetics or in the establishment of truth? Should we accept that beauty and truth are a matter of majority opinion? If consensus could establish truth and point out the beautiful there would be no reason for the loftier concerns of rarer persons.

the perceptive and silenced minorities

PAUL R HENRICKSON

GPA

The 4% to which I have special reference earned a gradepoint average (GPA) somewhat *below a 2.2* (2.2 is approximately equal to a grade of C) at the University of Northern Iowa. Because of this and an administrative decision not to allow students who earned a GPA less than 2.2 to register for practice teaching—a requirement for graduation within the program for teacher preparation—these students will not be expected to enter the teaching field. I imagine that other institutions have similar requirements. This particular 4% indicated that their perceptions in a field for which they had no special training were the equivalent to those of trained specialists. Thus it may be that there are throughout the country thousands of perceptive college students enrolled in institutions of teacher preparation who will never see a public classroom and by not being there will be impoverishing the educational system and depriving the nation of enlightened leadership.

It is not my intention to suggest that the GPA has no bearing on an individual's effectiveness as a teacher. It is my intention to ask why it remains the deciding one. It may be important to point out the possibility that a difference in values (a difference in kind as well as a difference in degree of conformity to them) is what determines the amount of energy an individual may be willing to use in meeting preset, *system*-determined goals.

The research identified above indicated that some who will not be allowed to teach our young are among the *most* perceptive in matters of aesthetic judgment. If it seems reasonable that we provide sensitive and perceptive persons the opportunity to fill positions where their special abilities could be most effectively utilized, why is it that a significant percentage of such people are excluded? Not to utilize them and to lose the profit from their insights is wasteful, negligent, and criminal.

ART TEST

It might be helpful to describe the setting from which the awareness of the perceptive 4% was made. There were 120 "art products" (actually designs or pictures) made in response to a creativity task called *THE CREATIVITY DESIGN TEST* (CDT) and this test was administered to non-art college freshmen and sophomores. The designs were judged by 69 inexperienced non-art majors (also freshmen and sophomores in college) and seven art faculty from this University. The top 10% in agreement with their peers on the matter of aesthetic judgments of these works as determined by a value scale of 1-5 on a continuum of like-dislike were compared with the art faculty on this variable. Two of the seven in best agreement with their peers agreed statistically significantly with the art faculty at the .05 level of significance. The five remaining did not significantly agree with the faculty. Three of the seven in lowest peer agreement were in statistically significant agreement with the art faculty at the .005 level of significance. The remaining four did not agree significantly with the faculty.

The indications were that, in general, those in high agreement with their peers would tend to be in disagreement with the experts and that, in general, those in low agreement with their peers would tend to be in high agreement with the experts. It was decided to determine whether there were other differences among this peer group. There were. That difference lay in the area of academic achievement as reflected in their high school and college grade point averages. In both high school and college the GPA of the high peer agree-ers was approximately one GPA higher than for the low peer agree-ers. For example, the academic average for a high agree-er might be a "B" while that of the low peer agree-er might be a "C."

ANALYSIS

Although the statistical analyses do not deal with this problem directly, I suspect that what may be operating between the consistently lower academic ratings achieved by the low peer agree-ers as compared to what is achieved by the high peer agree-ers, and the factor of agreement between the low peer agree-ers and the experts, is a matter of a two-edged perception. On the one hand the perceptive individual is *capable* of responding intuitively perhaps but still effectively and with insight on a level of excellence comparable to the specialist. On the other hand he is in most academic situations *required* to respond on a level of excellence set by nonspecialists (teachers) operating on assumptions they may not care to test while ignoring the pertinence and sophistication of unscheduled data which may be playing a vital role in the decision making process. Is there any wonder that the perceptive person would lose interest in what must appear to him to be inept and misguided procrustean exercises which reduce intelligent behavior and encourage mindless intellection and the conformity of thought processes?

The situation presented to such low peer agree-ers might be described as a dilemma. The low peer agree-er perhaps achieves a level of perception comparable to that of the experts because his expressed responses are genuinely his own, rather than the offspring of consensus. His GPA remains lower than that of his consensus-bound peers because he, perceiving more accurately, more clearly, and with greater interest than they, finds that there are fewer persons with whom he might establish consensual validity, i.e., communicate. This understandably might restrict one's risking revealing insights to peers who are unaware of even the possibility of their existence. Sensitive to the pressures of conformity, he might not assert his perceptual superiority. By not asserting this superiority he could retain some of the security offered by apparent aggreement with the majority. (It could be hypothesized that a significant percentage of persons who are perceptive in specialized ways are correspondingly unaware of what is required to protect them from the actions of the mindless majority. One might wish that the majority was not so vainly sensitive about differences but rather have the courage to utilize such differences as needed specialties in a complex society.)

The balance sought between openness of expression about sensual perception on the one hand and blind sensual exclusivity and formal hierarchic expression on the other could well describe a situation in which anxiety about the validity of one's perceptions comes into conflict with the need for companionship and the reassurance obtained by agreement. If most of the people around cannot or will not see the world as a more perceptive person sees it, the more perceptive person is required to adjust to the less adequate perceptions of the majority or suffer the risks of social and psychological alienation. In such a world one becomes aware that functional reality is a matter of opinion, and that in general the most persuasive opinion is that one held by the majority *at the level where the greatest number of sense data are held in common by the greatest number of persons.*

CONSENSUS

The low peer agree-ers may perceive more expertly than do their chronological peers or even their program-bound teachers, but in an environment dominated by the inexpert their voice will have little effect and even matters of art will be determined by consensus. In such a system one might expect the perpetuation of practices on the part of teachers who have consistently been rewarded for behavior which encourages mediocre, unsure, and inept but safe, conforming and expected responses.

"Some who will not *be allowed to teach our young are among the* most *perceptive in terms of aesthetic judgment."*

We might also consider the probability that the GPA can readily be determined through the expertise of the student in correctly assessing and choosing to adapt to the level of group awareness. Such an act would be merely a function of the normal attraction toward the mean level of awareness although to some interpreters (Child, 1962, 1964, see References) it would imply excellence within the discipline. The continuance of practices which reward agreement and ignore, or punish, *insight* might be the result of determining suitability to teach by means of a GPA.

There are limitations in the present data. To many the major insufficiency lies in the amount of statistical support which might otherwise allow statements of a really conclusive nature. At this time I merely wish to take advantage of the temptation to probe the implications of the data presently available. Subsequent plans at the University of Northern Iowa have included a program of testing across several disciplines to assist in the determination of whether or not some kind of low-achieving but highly perceptive percentage of the student body could be isolated. For a variety of reasons, not all of them admirable, these plans were terminated. I have frequently wondered whether the decision to terminate was sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis.

PRESSURES

In the course of formal analysis as well as in moments of informal preoccupation with the data, an auxiliary idea developed which suggested that both peer and authority pressures may operate to define the limits of group awareness, acceptances and beliefs. In brief, the group exerts pressure on the individual to conform not only behaviorally in terms of how he acts but also sensually, in terms of how he admits sensual data into his personal analytical system. In short, there may be ways in which the reality to which the group will admit is defined by the group.Anyone more perceptive than the limits allowed by the group may find that truth is also a matter of opinion and that the punishment for being aware of more than what the group will authorize might range from mild forms of social isolation to the more aggressive declarations of insanity. (For very enlightening discussion on the role of peer and family pressures and the important consensual validation the reader is referred to the works of R. D. Laing, especially *SANITY, MADNESS AND THE FAMILY.*)

We are not involved here with the psychotic expressions of a personal *otherness* but only with those milder forms of differences in perception to which *nonabnormally* sensitive persons are subject. These persons may also be aware of the differences in the way they perceive things from the way others perceive them. They may be able to live with this knowledge either by sublimating their responses to their environment and by agreeing, superficially at any rate, to see the world as others see it, or they may decide to let their more sensitive perceptions be exercised in greater isolation. This last choice may have its dangers in the form of diminished human contact as well as its reward in a richer sensual experience.

In any event some light on this matter may have been shed by the results of the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperment Survey (GZTS) which was administered to the judges. Our original intention in administering this analytical tool was based on the hypothesis that possibly certain judges would select the works of certain artists because of some personality responsiveness to which there might have been some subliminal evidence in the work of art. Very little of this sort was indicated. What we did learn, however, was that there are some indications—although statistically nonsignificant—that low peer agree-ers and high peer agree-ers have somewhat different patterns of "lying." The term "lying" is used here as the authors of the survey use it in describing the scale devised to assess misrepresentation. The three "lie" scales are individually designated as *Careless-Deviancy* (CD), *Gross Falsification* (GF) and *Subtle Falsification* (SF).

It was observed that the GF and SF means were larger for the high peer agree-ers than for the low peer agree-ers. The means for the CD scale differed somewhat between the high peer agree-ers and the low peer agree-ers with the low peer agree-ers achieving a somewhat higher mean than the high peer agree-ers. It is, therefore, of interest to observe that carelessness is not a characteristic one would expect of a person desiring to conform. A conformist might be expected to be alert to the "correctness" of his

"The reduction of errors in judgment becomes a central issue in a world that is presently so delicately balanced."

behavior. If one wished to conform, to recognize and accept the values of the group, he would be scrupulous about attending to what they were. Fewer errors would be made as a result of carelessness. On the other hand one might also expect a person desiring to conform to make some effort to achieve the appearance of this conformity. It may be that the differences in both the GF and SF means reflect this.

FALSIFICATION

From this data one might be tempted to conclude, as I do, that for the high peer agree-ers, that is, those whose aesthetic judgments were highly similar to those of others in the group, there exists the possibility that intentional falsification, an intentional misleading of those around you, is a significant technique employed by conforming individuals in a vital effort to avoid the insecurity brought on by individuality of expressions, to resign the responsibility for more perceptive awareness, as well as to shun the terror of aloneness.

If this interpretation is correct, it suggests that the psychologically healthy persons are those whose modes of adjustment have not included denying the evidence of their senses in an effort to achieve the false security held out by consensus and still have been able to withstand the terrors of uncertainty and the pressures of isolation.

It might appear that the low peer agree-ers care less about such matters as uniformity of awareness. Being, perhaps, more aware of the singularity as opposed to any uniformity of perceptions, they may even not fully realize that *"bodies" of beliefs* about things exist. The low peer agree-ers consistently gave evidence of their greater involvement in the judging process by assigning many more adjectives to the works they judged. It may be that low peer agree-ers have more to react to and are more willing to react to them because they are simply more aware and more sensitive over a broader gamut of sense data than are high peer agree-ers. This may mean that the low peer agree-ers are equipped with more sensors than are the high peer agree-ers. The high peer agree-ers may in a very *real* way *need* sensory assistance in order to make more adequate responses.

WHY?

Since conforming people must *decide* to conform, it can be expected that this decision is based on some evidence. Perhaps out of fear they seek guideposts to behavior as those who are subject to night blindness seek the hand of their companions. They might feel in themselves some sensual *lack* which induces insecurity about the world, thus encouraging them to depend on others. I must ask, if this is so, why is it they chose the wrong person to follow? Is it a case of the blind following the blind? In one sense they might be expected to choose poorly if they lacked even that degree of awareness necessary to recognize a superior and effective talent.

A second order of behavioral reinforcement may develop from the group itself perpetuating itself in its own ignorance out of fear and uncertainty when it exerts influence on deviating members. Unlike highly perceptive persons, group members may be unable to tolerate difference in perception due to the fear induced by these differences. As fear, punishment, and false security alternate to maintain the integrity of the group, those who never were members can never become members because their particular perceptions have developed differently.

Certainly the unexpected relationship between the low-agreeing inexperienced judges and the experienced judges is a matter of some interest. If for some reason as few as 4% of the population, whether as a result of innate qualities, or by some accident of environment or education, give evidence of possessing special attributes or perceptions, and by institutional decision are denied the opportunity to broaden the base and raise the level of more appropriate responses as they might do by being in a position of influencing the young, then it will be the other 96% of the population which does so. This majority then, must arrive at important as well as unimportant decisions lacking both the sensitivity characteristic of the 4% as well as the opportunity to benefit by its counsel. Decisions will then be made by means other than special attributes or perceptions. What those means might be do not reassure me.

While I am aware of the possibility that highly perceptive persons probably exist who might also be achieving to an extent high enough to place them in positions of influence and leadership, I could not condone the cavalier disregard of the possibility of adding another 4% to that force. If it is social contagion which determines mass behavior, I would hope to have that process enriched by the perceptions of the gifted in order to provide greater assurance that the direction and quality of events are appropriate to the resolution of conflicts which confront us.

The reduction of errors in judgment, or the increase in the appropriateness of judgments, becomes a central issue in a world that is presently so delicately balanced that an ill-considered act by a poorly informed person could inflict appreciable damage to the human and nonhuman environments. Many may realize how conservative this statement really is. It is more likely that the action would be both final and fatal. ◻

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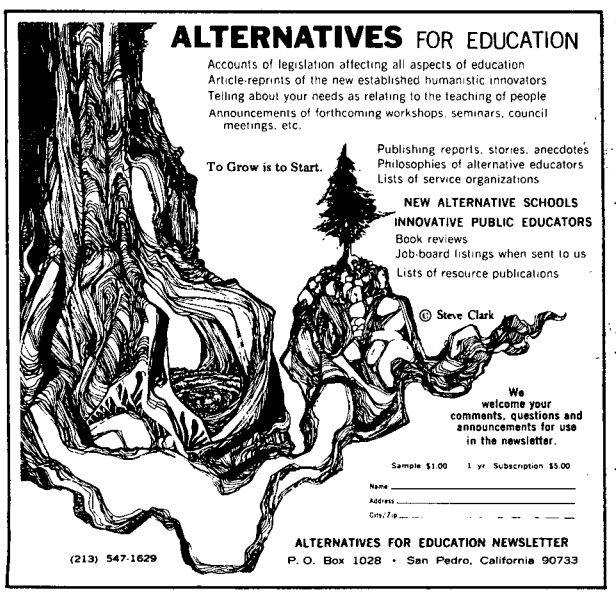
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TO DISCOVER TRUTH

A shining king,
With his future to sing
Set forth to discover truth.
"I hunt the dawn!"
He called and was gone
To journey with galloping youth.

Far, far did he roam
With wind at his bones,
Until one dusk in his path,
Like a silent pillar
Of cheerless winter,
There stood the exile Death.

"Not yet! I have time.
Years are still mine..."
His voice fell dry of breath.
As if to reply,
With an age-worn sigh,
Extended the hand of Death.

"Your life could have been
Of laughter and dreams."
Spoke dispassionate Death.
"Oh fool, don't you know
—wherever you go—
Within yourself is your truth."

Wendy McElroy

libertarian party correspondent—

It is interesting to note the different styles of operation of each state Libertarian Party. Because each state party is autonomous, it has the authority and corresponding responsibility for its own existence and activities. As a result, some state parties have progressed nicely while others are practically dormant. And those that are active differ widely in their method of operation.

For example, in California, public relations is the main thrust and all available resources are directed toward radio and TV to reach as many people as possible. Consolidation and follow-up organization will be undertaken as campaign pressure lets up. In New York and Illinois, political action on a local level is the main avenue utilized and organization is of immediate concern. Other states, such as Oregon, use a variation of several approaches, but to a lesser degree.

On the national level, Dr. John Hospers, our presidential candidate, is, at the time of this writing, in the midst of an eight state tour making several public appearances and addressing large libertarian gatherings to garner support for the Libertarian Party.

Our vice-presidential candidate, Mrs. Tonie Nathan, will meet Dr. Hospers in Chicago for the purpose of a joint public appearance and to assist the Illinois party in organizing.

The publicity obtained from this trip should expand the market for libertarian ideas considerably.

And this, of course, is one of the Libertarian Party's primary objectives.

To follow up this initial publicity, the Libertarian Party now has available thousands of copies of Dr. Hospers' *LIBERTARIANISM* in paperback for distribution, thanks to Reason Press' determined efforts to publish the book. If the Libertarian Party members do their job in distributing the book to the general public and on college campuses, libertarianism as a political philosophy will take another giant step forward.

Recap of state activities:

CALIFORNIA: Membership has grown to over 300 and a new state office was set up in San Francisco. Jim Eason of KGO Radio has provided golden opportunities for libertarians to voice their ideas and the results are showing by the extremely rapid growth of the Libertarian Party in the northern California area. Manny Klausner's candidacy for the 27th Congressional District is gathering steam for a big October push.

COLORADO: National Headquarters in Denver reports that six Libertarian Party members are running for local and congressional offices in several states and an in-depth perspective on each is contained in the August newsletter. A national tour is being planned for October for Mrs. Tonie Nathan.

HAWAII: California State Finance Chairman Ed Crane generated a lot of excitement by making several radio and TV appearances during a business trip to Hawaii and made several personal contacts which resulted in the formation of the Hawaii Libertarian Party. We should be hearing more from them soon.

Ed has also been active as a media spokesman in California.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: The Libertarian Party has a good chance of getting on the ballot by petition and hopefully Dr. Hospers' tour in that area will help accomplish that end.

NEW YORK: Feverish political activity continues there to get three local and congressional candidates on the ballot via the petition route.

OREGON: Political activity has picked up substantially, due to Mrs. Nathan's determined efforts. A state convention in late August drew over 500 people and much enthusiasm was generated over Dr. Hospers' personal appearance. Oregon may be a key state as far as libertarianism is concerned. It could be the focal point of importance in the not-too-distant future.

TEXAS and OKLAHOMA: These two states have been laying some valuable groundwork. Texas under Guy Story Brown and Oklahoma under Frank Robinson could really blossom out in a short period of time and Dr. Hospers' appearance there could be the catalyst for bringing about large scale political action.

Other states are building in membership and laying groundwork for future activities. The few I have spotlighted are only indicative of overall Libertarian Party activity.

BILL SUSEL

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movies

REVIEWED BY
CHARLES BARR

• Anyone who dreams of renouncing the trappings of civilization and going "back to nature" is bound to have second thoughts after seeing **DELIVERANCE**, a grisly, ghastly adventure film which pits four men against a malevolent river. The movie's theme, tightly woven into the plot, is that nature in the raw is inimical to man, especially civilized man. Burt Reynolds leads three other men (John Voight, Ned Beatty and Ronny Cox) on a canoe trip down the wild, treacherous Chattooga River in north Georgia. The light-hearted weekend adventure is swiftly transposed into a brutal nightmare of homosexual rape, drowning, killing and other assorted mayhem. In addition to fighting for sheer physical survival, the men are faced with severe moral conflicts for which there are no clear-cut answers. The blending of straight-line adventure with a distinct point of view forces the movie audience to actively evaluate the proceedings, rather than merely react to the events as they occur.

Philosophical content aside, **DELIVERANCE** scores high marks for excellent performances, suspenseful plotting and breathtaking photography, especially on the river scenes. If possible, this film should be seen at a first-run theater; the combination of Panavision-70 and stereophonic sound give the movie a heady "you-are-there" quality. For those who can weather the explicit language and graphic violence, **DELIVERANCE** delivers high excitement and quite a bit of food for thought. Rated "R".

• If there is a prize for rip-off documentary of the year, **MARJOE** should win it hands down. This movie, one of the most exciting and controversial films in years, is an expose of the Pentacostal religious movement by one of its leading practicioners. "Religion is a drug," says Marjoe Gortner, the film's star and chief architect. He proves it as he harangues the crowds at tent revival meetings into hypnotic, chanting frenzy. "You've got to have a gimmick to be successful in this business," says Marjoe, as he counts the money he has encouraged his devoted followers to part with. In the trade, such gimmicks translate to "ministries," such as the "ministry of prophecy," the "ministry of tongues," the "ministry of laying on of hands," and so forth.

Having preached off and on since the age of four, Marjoe recently decided to get out of the business, because he had come to regard religious revivalism as "a hype." Rather than quit outright, however, he arranged to make one last tour, filming it as he went along. Aside from exposing the sham and phoniness of evangelism, Marjoe said his purpose in making the movie was "to show people that they don't need a leader." Right on! But in the course of the film, Marjoe himself becomes part of the hypocritical game: as he preaches to the crowds, exhorting them to "come to Jesus," the movie audience knows all along that he doesn't believe a word he is saying. In a sense, the movie is a double rip-off, since the gullible people who contribute to Marjoe's "ministry" are ultimately contributing to a film that mocks them and their values. Marjoe himself seems to recognize this moral dilemma, though he never really comes to grips with it. However, it can't be denied that he does put on a good show, for the movie audience as well as for those who come to hear him preach. After this revealing look at its seamy soul, the evangelical religious movement may never be the same again. Rated "PG".

• Can Raquel Welch act? Until recently such a question would have been unfair, because the endless string of rotten movies she appeared in were not a fair test of her ability. But her latest and best movie to date, **KANSAS CITY BOMBER**, gives Raquel a chance to exercise her talent and reveal that, although not a great actress, she is certainly a competent one. As a roller derby queen fighting for "a piece of the action," she effectively portrays a woman with determination, guts and a somewhat naive honesty and self-respect. Her image as a sex symbol is slightly muted (but not suppressed) by the demands of the role. The film explores the lives of the men and women who attempt to create a patchwork reality in the essentially phony world of the roller games. The contrived brutality, the real and put-on feuds, the cynicism and despair of the participants in this pseudo-sport are all effectively dramatized. The skating sequences, especially those in the final, climactic race, are brilliantly staged, helping to sustain the pace and excitement while adding to the authenticity of the picture. Kevin McCarthy is well cast as the cool, manipulative manager of the roller team. Helena Kallianiotes gives a chilling performance as a lead skater who is almost over the hill. The plotting and the other performances are on a par with the performance of Raquel Welch—not great, but good. Rated "PG".

• Bob Hope is a national institution. He is worth maybe $350 million. He is one of America's all-time great entertainers. Why, then, does he insist on making such witless, inane movies as **CANCEL MY RESERVATION**? This "adventure-comedy," about a television personality framed for two murders, manages to waste not only Hope's talents but also those of Eva Marie Saint, Ralph Bellamy, Keenan Wynn, Forrest Tucker and newcomer Anne Archer. The dialogue and plot are so corny and cliche-ridden that one is tempted to watch Milton Berle reruns for relief. Bob Hope, looking harassed and hardly ever smiling, delivers a continuous patter of one-liners that would make a third-rate vaudeville comic blush. Eva Marie Saint, as Hope's wife, sinks to the level of her part, which is not very demanding. Anne Archer infuses some life into her role as the evil rancher's daughter, occasionally elevating the film to the level of an average television situation comedy. She'll be worth watching if she is ever cast in a good movie. The Arizona desert provides a scenic backdrop for the contrived nonsense that takes place on the screen. Rated "G". ◻

trends

ABORTION RESULTS

Evidence of the beneficial consequences of legalized abortions continues to accumulate. In Washington, DC the number of maternal deaths and infections has dropped markedly since 1970 when interpretation of the 1970 DC abortion law was significantly liberalized. Prior to 1970 half of all maternal deaths in the city were due to botched abortions or their complications, but there has not been a single such death since 1970. In addition cases of infection have dropped 40% over this time period. Some 32,000 abortions per year are being performed legally in the city, many of them by privately-owned, profit-making clinics like Pre-Birth and Hillcrest.

Other effects of abortions are showing up in California. As a result of its liberalized 1967 abortion law, California's birth rate is declining, for the first time since the Depression. The number of births dropped from 362,632 in 1970 to 329,826 in 1971, an 11.5% decrease, while the number of abortions reached 65,529 in 1970, four times the 1967 level. More importantly, *the number of children on welfare is also declining as a result of easily-available abortions,* according to Prof. Kingsley Davis, population researcher at the University of California. Decreases have shown up in both the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program and in various foster child programs.

In addition, a Swedish research study has documented the effects of anti-abortion laws on the resulting children. Researchers Hans Forssman and Inge Thuwe compared 120 unwanted children (whose mothers had been forbidden by the State to have abortions), with a control group of 120 others, also born between 1939 and 1942, in the same hospitals. They found that the unwanted children were more likely to suffer from insecurity and instability in childhood; in adolescence they were twice as likely as the control group to have learning problems and psychiatric disorders, and to engage in criminal or delinquent behavior. Between the ages of 16 and 21, the unwanted children were six times more likely to be receiving some form of public assistance.

Such arguments are apparently having an effect, as more and more governments liberalize their anti-abortion statutes. Just last April the government of India put into effect a new abortion law comparable to California's liberal statute. Government health experts hope that a million women will take advantage of the law this year. Even that would only make a dent in India's soaring population, since there are 100 million couples of childbearing age in India's 547-million population.

SOURCES:

"Approved Abortions in DC Cause Drastic Drop in Deaths," *THE WASHINGTON POST*, 27 April 1972.

"Drop in Birth Rate Linked to Abortions," Associated Press (San Mateo), 29 July 1972.

"Unwanted Children," *PARADE*, 16 July 1972.

"India Puts Permissive Abortion Law in Effect," Associated Press (New Delhi), 1 April 1972.

THE DEATH OF SANTA CLAUS

Senator William Proxmire has aptly described the plethora of federal subsidies as follows: "These programs are like Christmas, with everyone giving subsidies to everyone else and Congress serving as Santa Claus." In recent months, however, there have been increasing signs that the role of Santa Claus is getting harder and harder to play, due to some harsh fiscal realities. As early as 1970, libertarian economic consultant Alan Greenspan set forth the ominous scenario of the federal government losing control of the budgetary process. As of mid-1971, columnists Evans and Novack reported that ". . . increasingly economists in the White House, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Treasury are coming around to Greenspan's concept of the runaway budget." A year later the prestigious Brookings Institution published its 468-page critique of the Administration's fiscal 1973 budget, which concluded that "even if no new federal spending programs beyond those now contemplated are enacted, and if the Treasury were receiving all the tax revenues available at full employment—it would be mid-1978 before the federal budget could possibly show a surplus."

The myth that the government could go on indefinitely creating give-away programs financed from "somewhere" has finally run its course. Historically, Congress generally managed to keep things under control by keying the expansion of subsidies and other government programs to the growth of the economy. Thus, the parasitical effects were limited, due to the continued growth of the host (the productive businesses and taxpayers). In the 1960s, however, the federal budget suddenly grew twice as fast as the rest of the economy, amounting today to a staggering 13% of the gross national product. $50 billion worth of new or expanded domestic programs were added during the past decade.

Moreover, it has become clear even to the Liberal Establishment that most federal programs have utterly failed to accomplish their stated ends. An amazing article from the New York Times News Service points out that "only in recent months has the enormity of some of the failures, particularly in social programs, become fully known." It then goes on to describe a number of examples, including:

- An evaluation by HEW of its own $1 billion per year Title 1 program in education admitted that "the money is still not reaching those for whom it is intended in ways that will raise the level of instruction."

- The 1968 Housing Act "has produced some housing but at enormous cost," and "has benefited builders, investors, speculators, and other interests more than it has consumers."

- "Major manpower training programs costing more than $1 billion a year," are "often yielding no jobs for those enrolled."

- Model Cities "has turned out to be more of an administrative device than a program of limited welfare and employment."

- The 1968 Safe Streets Act has had little impact on crime "because the funds have been so widely dispersed and used for new layers of bureaucracy."

Not surprisingly, public hearing held by the Democratic Party's Platform Committee revealed a nationwide trend of "disappointment and cynicism about government on all levels." Yet the same study concluded that "the disenchantment has not lessened the demand that the federal government take on extensive new programs, from day care centers to guaranteed employment."

It becomes increasingly clear that the next president must work for either a major tax increase or a major cut in government services. In this light it is interesting to note a 7 August statement by Clark MacGregor, Nixon's campaign chief. "President Nixon has no intention of asking for a tax increase if he is reelected," MacGregor said, noting that "an increase in federal income taxes would be avoided in fiscal 1973 and 1974 by pruning wasteful social programs." It will be instructive to see how well this statement holds up after November 7th.

SOURCES:

"Threat of Runaway Budget Grows," Rowland Evans and Robert Novack, syndicated column of 8 June 1971.

"Tough Choices Face President—Whoever He Is," Vincent J. Burke and Paul E. Steiger, *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 25 May 1972.

"Deficit Out of Control," *TIME*, 31 July 1972.

"Study Uncovers Voter Cynicism," John Herbers, New York Times News Service, 15 June 1972.

"MacGregor Predicts No Tax Hike Under Nixon," Associated Press (Washington), 8 August 1972.

URBAN TRANSIT REVISIONISM

Big-city politicians are fond of invoking the specter of an urban transit crisis. The standard complaint is that the mostly government-run transit systems are going under, since fares cannot cover even operating costs, and local tax revenues are too strained to provide subsidies. It is, of course, generally ignored that local government takeover of transit companies was touted as their salvation only a few short years ago. How new is today's crisis? And how did urban transit systems (whether government or capitalist-run) get into today's mess?

According to the MIT Urban Systems Laboratory the revenue-vs.-cost problem has plagued urban transit from the beginning. In a major new contribution to revisionist urban studies, the Lab's recent special report traces the history of urban transit systems and government interventions into their operations. The report states that "U.S. revenue transit ridership has followed a slow and predictable rate of decline since well before the automobile had its major impact." Indeed, one-third of the then-existing transit companies were bankrupt in 1919, prompting President Woodrow Wilson to appoint a Federal Electric Railway Commission to investigate the situation.

Why did so many companies fail? Authors Richard Soloman and Arthur Saltzman give several reasons. Some companies just suffered from poor management, leading to overinvestment in expensive plant and equipment, and to keeping fares below the level needed to accomodate rising wage expenses. But other, more fundamental factors were at work, in addition. The existence of government-granted exclusive franchises (monopolies) prevented transit companies from reacting to changing public needs and demand patterns. Most important of all, the authors suggest that it is quite probably the case that "few, if any, operations ever made large profits from transit operations *alone* over sustained periods." In other words, the nature of the urban transit industry (capital requirements, demand curves, technological change, etc.) was such that it made more sense, economically, for transit to be provided by a larger, more diversified kind of business enterprise. Accordingly, in the 20s and 30s many transit lines were acquired by electric utility, petroleum, and railroad equipment manufacturing companies.

But it was precisely at this point that government, specifically the federal government, struck the fatal blow. As the authors point out, "The Securities and Exchange Commission interpreted the Public Utilities Holding Company Act of 1935 as prohibiting most electric power and petroleum trusts from keeping their wide-ranging financial interests in transit operations. This denied to the transit industry not only capital but also management aid just when they were most needed to support modernization." The coup-de-grace was later provided by the Justice Department, which prohibited railroad equipment manufacturers from owning stock in transit companies. With a direct financial stake in the transit companies, the manufacturers had underwritten street-railway equipment replacement since about 1936.

Interestingly, the report notes that the only kind of transit operations to have survived successfully are jitneys, operated largely by independent entrepreneurs. The authors note that in their heyday, jitneys succeeded in diverting 50% of the peak-hour streetcar passengers, which led to legislation (authored and supported by transit companies) to regulate the jitneys out of existence. Still, where jitney-type service is allowed, it continues to offer a viable, profitable alternative to capital-intensive transit systems (see "Taxis and Jitneys: The Case for Deregulation," *REASON*, February 1972).

SOURCE:

"Urban Transit: In a Jam Yesterday," Michael Chiusano, *TECHNOLOGY REVIEW*, February 1972.

GOVERNMENT BY DECREE: A NATIONAL EMERGENCY

When Richard Nixon cut the dollar loose from gold and decreed a 10% import surcharge last year, he first declared a state of national emergency. This practice has become almost commonplace over the last 40 years, ever since Franklin D. Roosevelt pushed through Congress the Emergency Banking Act of 1933. One provision of that act gave the president the first peacetime powers to regulate vast areas of the economy, as well as foreign trade. (Similar powers during a declared war were first granted to the president in 1917.) To invoke those powers, the president need only decree a national emergency.

Today, uttering such words gives the president over 200 dictatorial powers otherwise forbidden to him. Unbeknownst to most people, these

states of emergency *do not expire* unless or until the president so decrees. Thus the United States is still in Roosevelt's 1933 state of emergency, Truman's 1950 Korean War state of emergency, and many others. The Korean War decree, in particular, enables the president to deploy U.S. military forces anywhere in the world that he chooses, keep enlisted troops beyond the expiration date of their contracts, control consumer credit, regulate trade with foreign nations, revoke leases on real estate and personal property, and suspend rules and regulations regarding radio and television.

Senator Charles Mathias (R, MD) has been alarmed over the implications of these provisions; for the past three years he has led the fight to change things. This summer he was finally rewarded with the chairmanship of a special eight-member committee and a $100,000 budget to look into means of terminating the existing national emergencies. Mathias thinks it would be impossible to repeal the national emergency legislation outright, but he hopes to institute requirements for Congressional ratification and a built-in termination date. He also wants provisions for an annual review by Congress of any existing national emergencies.

Already the State Department has mobilized to fight Mathias, contending that conduct of foreign policy would be impossible without many of the statutes authorized by national emergency decrees. The House of Representatives has so far shown total apathy. Hopefully, publicity by advocates of liberty will help Mathias in his assault on domestic fascism.

SOURCE:

"Mathias Leads Fight to Reduce President's Emergency Powers," John Averill, *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 23 July 1972.

BRIEFLY NOTED

The Nixon administration is apparently still serious in its announced intention to sell Dulles and Washington National airports at auction to private enterprise. A recent **AVIATION WEEK** news item (1 May 1972) noted that the plan has aroused bureaucratic fears in the Virginia government. State and county officials are claiming that a private entity "may not necessarily be qualified to operate the airports efficiently," and are talking about setting up an "authority" to bid for and run the airports.

West Germany, like France and many other European countries, has a government TV broadcasting monopoly. According to *BUSINESS WEEK* (22 April 1972) there is now a strong move afoot to break the monopoly. "Right-wing" politician Franz-Josef Strauss is supporting the idea, so as to provide an alternative to the left-wing bias of Bavaria's state TV system. Swiss entrepreneur Willi Maurer and German newspaperman Axel Springer are reported to be among those challenging the monopoly.

reason profile

Thirty-three year old Manuel Klausner is obviously a man on the go. In addition to his work as a partner in a large Los Angeles corporate law firm (where he specializes in commercial litigation), he is currently a write-in candidate for Congress, challenging Barry Goldwater, Jr. in California's 27th District . . . as well as his being editor and an owner of *REASON* magazine.

Mr. Klausner did his undergraduate work at UCLA, receiving an A.B. degree with honors in political science. He received his LL.B. and LL.M. from New York University School of Law where he was a Root-Tilden Scholar and associate managing editor of the *N.Y.U. LAW REVIEW*. While at NYU he studied with Ludwig von Mises and Sylvester Petro and grew to actively identify with the classical liberal viewpoint. He also became closely acquainted with Murray Rothbard in New York. Mr. Klausner studied in Denmark in 1963-64 under Ford Foundation and Fulbright grants, then served as an instructor on the faculty of the University of Chicago Law School the following year. At Chicago he did editing for the *JOURNAL OF LAW AND ECONOMICS* and *NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW*.

Mr. Klausner and his wife Willette, a UCLA economics graduate who is vice president of an advertising research firm, are active theater and movie goers (Mr. Klausner is on the Music and Fine Arts Committee of the L.A. Junior Chamber of Commerce) and have a very full social life. They enjoy traveling and try to spend a month every year in Europe or Asia. Mr. Klausner enjoys playing chess and regrets that he no longer has the time to compete in tournaments. For physical exercise he runs a mile or two every day—certainly a fitting activity for a person as peripatetic as Manny Klausner!

book review

RATIONAL MAN: A MODERN INTERPRETATION OF ARISTOTELIAN ETHICS. By Henry B. Veatch. Indiana University Press. 1962. Pp. 226. $1.95 paperback.

REVIEWED BY C. J. WHEELER

Professor Henry B. Veatch of the University of Indiana, is indeed a rarity among today's philosophers: a firm advocate of an ethics of reason. And, as one might expect, the source of his advocacy is Aristotle.

It is fascinating to watch Professor Veatch, his Aristotelian scalpel in hand, operate upon the malignant growths now on the philosophical body of ethics: relativism, skepticism, determinism, altruism, utilitarianism, the 'naturalistic fallacy', and the strident claim that one cannot derive an 'ought' from an 'is'—all are cut off at the root with surgical precision.

Yet, it is the positive aspect of the Professor's thesis that is most interesting: his justification of an ethics of objective value based on the facts of reality.

The work is not without flaws. It is not sufficiently rigorous, philosophically—but this is perhaps excusable as it is written not for the academic philosopher but for the intelligent layman. Even so, one could wish for more explicit discussion of certain basic Aristotelian concepts, such as *phusis, phronesis,* final cause, and the intimate relationship between (or even equation of) man's formal cause (his essential identity: the capacity to be rational) to his final cause (his end or function: being rational). There are some puzzling, but very minor allusions to religion, an offensive and irrelevant quote from Erich Fromm, and a small digression into sloppy modern terminology re 'contingent facts' (Aristotle's distinction between man-made facts and facts of nature—'variable' and 'invariable'—would have helped him here). There is also an interesting but questionable attempt to ground the objectivity of value in Aristotle's metaphysics of potentiality/actuality—this seems to place 'value' in a wider context than 'life', which is nonsensical. Of course, Veatch should be read carefully: his style often takes the pose of the *advocatus diaboli*, whereby he gives a fair presentation of his opponent's views as if he were advocating them, before proceeding to demolish them (readers of Ludwig von Mises will be familiar with this style).

Besides the basic theme of rationality as a life-style, there are many gems of argumentation that more than make up for the above minor flaws. Many of Professor Veatch's points about the nature of emotions, Socratic self-knowledge and the 'examined life' have relevance to Nathaniel Branden's essay on *THE DISOWNED SELF*. Professor Veatch also sees clearly that for man, morality begins with the individual's ultimate choice to think or to evade that responsibility.

If at all possible, one should read Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics in conjunction with Professor Veatch's book. They most certainly will help the reader go a long way in living his life as a *Rational Man.*

What Professor Veatch is offering, without explicitly naming it, is Aristotle's man of *phronesis* as a moral ideal. The man of *phronesis*, or 'practical wisdom' is the man of *moral action*, the man who is able to correctly apply moral principles discerned by his reason to particular circumstances in the world. The man of practical wisdom is the man who puts reason to work to achieve his happiness. The reader will note here the crucial notion of an ethics of reason as eminently practical—a notion which Professor Veatch constantly stresses.

What is most appealing to me, however, is the fact that Professor Veatch sees clearly the major thrust of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics—which is also that of the philosophy of Objectivism, and is the common bond between the two. Aristotle and Objectivism ultimately advocate *rationality as a life-style.* Neither philosophy is primarily one of ethics or epistemology or metaphysics as an abstract body of intellectual principles. The key to both is their profound *personal* importance to the individual human being as he acts and lives in the human condition.

The 'human condition' is a term favored by the Existentialists, and it is specifically to them that *RATIONAL MAN* is addressed as a refutation. Professor Veatch lucidly traces Aristotle's demonstration that not only *through* rationality can man achieve his well-being, but that rationality, the life of reason, *is* his well-being—and that what man ought to achieve (his well-being as an individual) proceeds from what he is, his *identity*, his *phusis*.

Mr. Wheeler is a teaching assistant and graduate student at USC. His interests range from political theory through metaphysics . . . to African safaris.

publisher's notes

• **HOSPERS PAPERBACK AVAILABLE:** Sales are booming for the new paperback edition of Professor John Hospers' *LIBERTARIANISM*. The book is published by Reason Press, a new division of Reason Enterprises, by special arrangement with Nash Publishing, which brought out the hardcover edition in 1971. The profitability of this first venture into book publishing will influence the extent to which Reason Press expands. Copies of the paperback are available at $2.95 from *REASON.*

• **BRANDEN NOVEL UNDER WAY:** Nathaniel Branden has advised *REASON* that he is interrupting his work on his book *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ROMANTIC LOVE* in order to start work on a novel he has been wanting to write: Branden is now engaged in research for the novel and in working on the plot outline. The novel will deal with the world of psychology in the last third of the 20th Century. Branden expects

to begin the actual writing late this year. According to Branden, "It will be a very long book and the writing of it will occupy me for the next several years."

• **NEW BRANDEN INTERVIEW:** Nathaniel Branden is also involved in another project of special interest to *REASON* readers—a second exclusive *REASON* interview. Following *REASON's* original interview with Branden, which was featured in *REASON's* Special Issue of October 1971 , the forthcoming interview will probe deeply into Branden's clinical and analytical approaches to psychology and psychotherapy.

The interview has been partially completed and is tentatively scheduled to appear next April.

• **LAW AND LIBERTY PROJECT:** The Institute for Humane Studies is instituting a new program, The Law and Liberty Project, which aims at recovering liberty by reestablishment of fundamental law, with its accompanying ethic. It is contemplated that the law project will offer fellowships, conduct a law study program, publish studies on law, conduct conferences and symposiums, and develop law practice apprenticeships. F.A. Harper, president of the institute for Humane Studies is seeking financial support to help fund the cost of the project. Further information can be obtained from Harper at the Institute, 1134 Crane Street, Menlo Park, California 94025.

• **LIBERTARIAN CANDIDATES QUALIFY:** California voters are advised that the Libertarian Party's Hospers-Nathan ticket has qualified as an "official" write-in slate, so that all votes for these candidates will be counted and reported. (Under provisions of the state's "Mickey Mouse Law," write-in votes will only be counted for candidates of officially registered parties.) California voters may also wish to change their voter registration to Libertarian before the election. Whether they are registered as Libertarians or not, all California voters are eligible to write in John Hospers for President and Tonie Nathan for Vice President.

• **CMI NEEDS FUNDS:** The California Marijuana Initiative (CMI) campaign urgently needs financial support. The initiative, which will appear on the November ballot in California, provides for removal of criminal penalties for cultivating and possessing marijuana for personal use. Donations for the campaign may be sent to CMI, 2214 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

• **SURVEY OF LIBERTARIANS:** Ferdinand V. Solara of Polifax Press has been commissioned by a national publication to do a feature article on the "libertarian movement." In order to obtain a broad cross-section of views of libertarians, he is interested in having *REASON* readers participate in a survey. In order to participate, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to POLIFAX SURVEY, P.O. Box 20067, Denver, CO 80220. Do it now, since all completed survey forms must be returned by 15 December 1972.

• **CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS PUBLISHED:** The Summer 1972 issue of *THE PERSONALIST* contains the proceedings of the 1971 University of San Francisco Conference on Political Philosophy. The conference, directed by Professors Robert L. Cunningham and Tibor R. Machan, addressed the subject of "The Individual and Society," and included discussions of human nature, virtue, property, aggression, and liberty in a technological age. *THE PERSONALIST* is published by the School of Philosophy at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California 90007.

• **ATLAS SHRUGGED FILMING:** *REASON* continues to follow closely the negotiations between Ayn Rand and producer Al Ruddy concerning the planned film version of *ATLAS SHRUGGED.* No new developments have occurred since our last status report. Read this column next month for an up-to-date report of developments.

• **ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS:** The National Peace Action Coalition has called for massive demonstrations of a peaceful and legal nature to protest the continuing American involvement in the Indochina war, to take place on November 18 in at least 15 cities across the country. The tentative list of sites for the demonstrations includes the following cities: New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Detroit, Cleveland, Denver, Seattle, Portland, Houston, Austin, and Atlanta. The central demand of the demonstrations is for immediate and total American withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Other demands include a call for abolition of the draft, and immediate, total, and unconditional amnesty for draft resistors, military deserters, and GI's who are in the brig for anti-war activities.

A group of libertarians who have been actively involved in the anti-war movement have formed an ad hoc group for the purpose of encouraging and coordinating libertarian involvement in the November 18 NPAC demonstrations. Libertarian Action for Peace & Freedom will be developing literature for distribution at the demonstrations, as well as promoting an awareness among libertarians of the activities of local, regional and national anti-war organizations, and hopes to be able to refer libertarian anti-war activists across the country to other anti-war libertarians in their area or region.

If you want to be put on the mailing list of Libertarian Action for Peace & Freedom, or to help coordinate libertarian involvement in the November 18 anti-war demonstrations, or to make any kind of contribution, intellectual or financial, write to:

Libertarian Action for Peace & Freedom
P.O. Box 66321
Houston, Texas 77006

letters

L. P. AD CLARIFIED

I was very pleased with the special September issue of *REASON.* It gave needed exposure to many libertarian ideas and I was glad to see the Libertarian Party platform fully reproduced. However, I would like to call your attention to an error in the advertisement placed on the back cover of that issue. The ad was placed without my knowledge and reads in part, ". . . And for Vice President, Mrs. Tonie Nathan, an articulate Objectivist with extensive experience in public communications . . ."

As an admirer and ardent student of Ayn Rand's philosophy, Objectivism, I respect and acknowledge her right to designate whom may call himself an "Objectivist." Since, as far as I know, Miss Rand is unaware of my existence, she is unable

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SAY NO TO BOTH

The two major parties in this country differ only in the brand of statism they offer. Leviathan Left and Repressive Right – take your choice.

There is a way for those of us who loathe statism in all forms to make our voice heard at the polls, however, and if we can get 100,000 or 1,000,000 people to join with us in repudiating **both** would-be Emperors, they may get the message, at least to the extent that they'll slow down a bit in their drive towards Absolute Statism.

They won't listen to reason; the only way we can get to them is by mobilizing a massive protest vote. (Staying home won't help; there's nothing the super-statists would like better than to have libertarians abandon the fight.)

Fortunately, we have a pair of candidates that libertarians can enthusiastically support, in good conscience. For President, Dr. John Hospers, distinguished author of **Libertarianism**, now considered **the** authoritative text on its subject. And for Vice-President, Mrs. Tonie Nathan, an articulate Objectivist with extensive experience in public communications.

But in order to enable Dr. Hospers and Mrs. Nathan to campaign effectively, we'll need money – lots of it. Money to pay their travel expenses, and to pay for advertising.

Your help is needed. If you love your life, now is the time to show it. Send whatever you can afford – $5 or $500 – to the Libertarian Party Campaign Fund, 1415 N. El Paso, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80906. Everyone who contributes will receive a campaign kit, to help spread the word. Those who contribute $50 or more will receive a personally autographed hardcover edition of **Libertarianism**.

If you want to do more than just contribute financially, you can join the Libertarian Party, as an active member. Dues are $6 for regular membership, $12 for sustaining membership, and $4 for student membership . . . and include a subscription to the Party's monthly **Newsletter**. Membership dues should be sent to the LP's national headquarters, 7748 Lowell Blvd., Westminster, Colorado 80030.

And whatever you do, be sure to go to the polls this November, and cast your vote for John Hospers and Tonie Nathan – even if you have to do it by write-in.

BREAK FREE FROM BIG BROTHER.

VOTE LIBERTARIAN.

(Cost of this advertisement paid for by the Libertarian Party.)

(continued from page 32)

to determine my ability to articulate her philosophy, even if she wished to do so. I am not, therefore, an "Objectivist." Furthermore, I am opposed to attempts by some persons to achieve prestige or status by implying an association with Miss Rand or her philosophical system which is not deserved. Since I do not think it is in my interest to receive such unearned good will, please make it clear to your readers that I have no formal connection with Objectivism, nor have I received any recognition (formal or informal) from Ayn Rand. I am simply one of her readers.

However, I do have a formal connection with the Libertarian Party. As candidate for vice president of the United States on the LP ticket, I consider myself an "articulate Libertarian." In this capacity, I intend to express ideas which are consistent with Objectivism as I understand it. In my view, there is no conflict between the nature of government as defined by Miss Rand and the statement of principles of the Libertarian Party.

Tonie Nathan
Eugene, Oregon

CALL FOR HELP

I hope your readers can help me in the following matter.

My wife and I were divorced 11 years ago – and though I got custody of our 7-year-old daughter, she took her to England and I have not seen her since.

I have tried to locate her without success – and all my efforts have been of no avail.

My economic status does not allow me to spend large sums of money for attorneys.

Is there any organization or agency that could help locate her? I would greatly appreciate any help you can give me.

S. Grad
1125 55th St.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

SOCIETY AN ORGANISM?

In 'The public interest—fact or fraud?' [*REASON*, May 1972], Tibor Machan dismisses the idea of a society as an organism without giving an adequate analysis of that idea. While Machan is of course correct that 'there is no evidence that any of the things which make consciousness, will, purposiveness, etc. possible are actually to be found in society', that implies not that a society is not an organism but only that it is not a human-like organism. There are many kinds of organisms which have none of those properties, e.g. colonial organisms such as the Portuguese man-o'war and corals. What makes such things organisms is that they exist and function as units (distinct from the aggregate of the cells comprising them) and can die as units. A society could plausibly be argued to have those properties; certainly a society can die without all of its members dying.

Arguments based on 'the common good' or 'the public interest' generally assume that a society is an organism like the Portuguese man-o'war and that the health of that organism is to be valued without regard for the fate of any of the individual cells, any one of which can die without impairing the viability of the organism. It is that value judgement which is objectionable, not the claim that a society is an organism.

James D. McCawley
Chicago, Illinois

Professor Machan replies:

Mr. McCawley's point requires that he show in just what sense society is an organism. The usual senses imply that it is just like a human organism: conscious, purposive, possessing rights, having and being owed duties and responsibilities, etc. I suspect Mr. McCawley is confusing organization with organism in this case. An organism is not designed and held together *intentionally* (or destroyed) by its constituents. Altogether too many differences occur to me to accept this suggestion—and the predominant cases in history (Plato, Hegel, Marx, *et al*) don't support the view. That is not to say that Mr. McCawley shouldn't give it a run for its money.

NEW BIOLOGY COMMENDED

The article presented in your August '72 issue by Winston L. Duke: "The New Biology," is the best article I've read in your magazine and one of the best articles I've read, period.

The possibilities envisioned for rational individuals were shown to be *truly* unlimited. Even Miss Rand had not conceived that death might not be inevitable. I would sure like to have such individuals as she around for the next thousand plus years of my life.

My commendations to Mr. Duke, to the *REASON* editorial staff, and to the people carrying on the fascinating work of the new biology.

Brian R. Wright
Detroit, Michigan

NEW BIOLOGY QUESTIONED

In Reply To Mr. Duke's article, "The New Biology," *REASON*, August 1972:

I have been a nurse for half of my life, and out of this background have formulated some ideas of my own on certain current problems. One of these is very simple: the reason for the population explosion is not too many births, but rather *not enough deaths.* We are keeping too many people alive for too long, with no physical, emotional or intellectual compensation to the patient, his family or society (not to mention those of us who pay his Medicare!). Furthermore technology, as well as ourselves, is to blame. Death is so fear-ridden and myth-oriented that many doctors and nurses will do anything to halt its approach, and refuse to take the responsibility when it comes. Monitors, respirators, kidney machines, etc. that science has produced are so awe-inspiring that some medical personnel are no longer able to function without them. And they are so soothed by their own technical knowledge and, conversely, so fearful of their own value-judgments that they will use any means, including technological, to cop-out on their responsibilities ("It wasn't my fault, the machine wouldn't work!"). I can certainly comprehend the changes that science is making in men's lives and minds, and applaud these changes as improvements. But only if science retains a sense of reason. And some of technology is no longer reasonable; it has, in fact, become 'luxurious' as Mr. Mason uses the term—that is, irresponsible. ("Ayn Rand vs. Ecology", *REASON*, Aug. '72)

Specifically: 1. Under what conditions can a woman who heretofore could not bear children be impregnated by an embryo implant, *and carry that fetus full-term;* Where is the proof that she will?

2. Where is the proof too that the brain is "potentially infinite"? The brain is nourished essentially by the same nutrients as the body. A

(continued on page 36)

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JANUARY 1973 will see two inaugurations. The more touted will be that of the President. The more important will be that of MERCURY. MERCURY will be a NEWS magazine, like Time or Newsweek, but with a difference. MERCURY will be a MUCKRAKER in the individualist tradition of Garrison and Mencken. The reader of MERCURY will find out WHO, WHAT, WHEN, WHERE, and WHY, with no holds barred, no crevices overlooked. The reader of MERCURY is going to KNOW why things happen, and he will have the FACTS to do something about it....MERCURY will print the news that hasn't been fit!

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(continued from page 34)

'keen' mind removed from a worn-out body and placed on a new one (how new? how keen?) will not guarantee immortal life—it may well degenerate before the body. And that situation is infinitely worse than the original!

3. You say, ". . . it is this writer's conclusion that all nonhuman life is available for exploitation as private property." It may in a sense be 'available' (though not necessarily), but "eating a beef steak" is morally different from "aborting an embryo" (eating is a biological need to sustain one's life; aborting is a voluntary choice to take a potential life). In any case the right to steak or embryo as "private property" is another subject entirely. And the implication that private property, by its nature, IS exploitation demands further explanation.

4. There is good reason to "maintain that we will not discover, one day, *other* human life forms with which mankind could communicate and trade". If A is A, Life is also Life, and the conditions which determine 'life' are limited (air, water, etc.). Life in fact may exist in other solar systems (which we cannot communicate with!), but it hasn't yet been proven to exist elsewhere in our own solar system. (The fact that the same elements have been found on the moon, and other planets, has no meaning—they haven't combined properly to produce, or sustain, 'life'. And I cannot get excited about UFO's).

5. What is "perpetual life", and how can 1000 years possibly be more 'rewarding' for rationality than 80 years? Assuming that a rational man will live his life to the fullest, what will he gain by trying for fuller than fullest? And back to the population problem: if every man lives 1000 years, where will we put them all?

6. Abstract thoughts and goals were not formed *after* man had increased his mean lifetime—they began before, hence he learned how to increase it! The industrial revolution too was a result of this abstract-ness. (Do you really believe all that history tells us?!!)

If we should question atoms split for war, we should also question atoms being split for peace. Technology can be more than air and water-polluting, it may be mind-polluting as well. As an individual, an independent rational woman, I object to manipulation—by government, by God, by behaviorism or by science. Genetic engineering, and scientific be-all smack strongly of manipulation, of me and my progeny, as surely as any politician ever did. There must be a balance between biology (sans reason) and pure science (sans reason), between "natural selection" and the "brave new world". That balance will have to come from—Reason

Pat Taylor
Norfolk, Connecticut

LOBOTOMY VICTIMS HUMAN?

In the article "The New Biology" (*REASON,* August, 1972) author Winston Duke states "Humanity per se is based on cognitive abilities. A philosophy of reason will define a human being as life which demonstrates self-awareness, volition and rationality. Thus, it should be recognized that not all men are human. The severely mentally retarded, victims of lobotomies, the fetus, blastocysts, androids, etc. are not human and therefore obtain no human rights."

Intelligence is a relative quality. There are "severely mentally retarded" people who lead useful and dignified lives.

Judging a person as sufficiently intelligent (or rational or old enough) to be human and hence possessing human rights would necessarily be a legal, i.e., governmental function. The idea of the government judging some people as human and some as not human is shocking to my mind.

Sure, a fetus is not human, nor a dead brain. And intelligent life on other planets may be embodied in physical forms totally different from that on earth. But humanity is a qualitative difference in kind, not degree, from other life forms. A severely retarded human is different in kind from an "intelligent" monkey in terms of capacity for self-awareness, volition and rationality. An "irrational" person is still treated with the dignity afforded to other people. He is recognized as having a capacity for improvement and can be helped by psychiatrists. (Read *THE DIFFERENCE OF MAN AND THE DIFFERENCE IT MAKES* by Mortimer Adler, for the philosophical and legal problems involved in classifying life as human.)

To judge humanity as one of degree, not kind, would mean a roomful of Einsteins might consider me "severely mentally retarded" and hence not human, and not possessing human rights. The Nazi-like implications of this are obvious.

The idea that "All men are created equal" should not be so lightly dismissed.

Alan Kaufman
Skokie, Illinois

AUTHOR REPLIES:

In reply to Mr. Kaufman's letter, I would like to say:

I did not intend to leave the impression that *all* lobotomies and retardation eradicate the germ of humanity. But *some* do. Unpalatable as it may seem, exactitude in distilling and defining *humanity* shall be a serious requirement of the coming Eugenic Age. Those who choose not to think will have themselves to blame and a government's decision with which to contend.

In reply to Ms. Taylor's letter, I would like to say:

The terms "reason", "balance", et cetera do not logically apply to science. Technology per se has never been "to blame". Engineering does not manipulate man. Human beings alone are responsible for the Zeitgeist.

Winston L. Duke

JOHN GALT FORGOTTEN?

Re "Ayn Rand vs. Ecology" (*REASON,* August 1972):

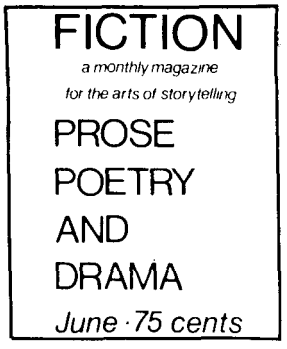
Wasn't it Miss Rand's character in *ATLAS SHRUGGED* (John Galt) who invented that perfect machine? A machine that replaced all of the belching and pollution of the great factory engines?

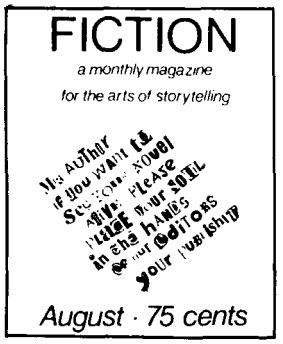
Has she forgotten her own character? Does she no longer believe in a John Galt?

V. M. Zolezzi
Chicago, Illinois

NEWS FLASH!

On September 21, REASON editor Manuel Klausner entered the race as a Libertarian Party candidate in California's 30th Congressional District (Central Los Angeles area), after the Republican contender announced his withdrawal from active campaigning. Previously, Klausner had announced as a candidate in the 27th. Campaign workers are needed—to help in the campaign, please call co-campaign managers Ed Clark at (213) 667-3076 or Ed Crane at (213) 482-1122.





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introducing... reason associates

One of the original aims of *REASON* Magazine was to significantly advance the spread of libertarian ideas in our culture. Although *REASON* has become the largest-selling libertarian magazine, its readership is largely confined to those who are thoroughly familiar with the libertarian world-view. *REASON* is now in a position to begin a major promotion campaign aimed at non-libertarians.

To conduct such a campaign requires large amounts of capital. Although *REASON* is on sound financial footings in terms of current operations, large new promotional efforts will require outside funding. Because of the loyalty of our readers and their interest in spreading libertarian ideas, our first thought was to offer shares of stock in Reason Enterprises to our subscribers. Indeed, many subscribers have written in, asking if they could invest in *REASON*.

Unfortunately, however, Big Brother, ever mindful of the welfare of "innocent investors," has established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to police the offering of securities. Virtually any offer of stock in Reason Enterprises would constitute the offering of a security under the Securities Act of 1933, and would thus be subject to SEC registration requirements. Moreover, merely to solicit loans from our readers (which we would like to do) would also constitute an offering of securities within the broad definition of securities contained in Section 2(1) of the Securities Act of 1933. Our lawyer has estimated the cost of the necessary SEC registration at somewhere in the vicinity of $35,000 . . . obviously beyond our means (as well as repugnant to our free enterprising business principles). So the problem remained: how to raise promotional capital from people who understand and support our aims, without running afoul of the State? (We could, of course, have asked for contributions, but neither we nor our readers are fond of handouts.)

The answer, we concluded, was to set up an organization which our subscribers could join and which would provide unique, tangible benefits in return for membership contributions. Thus, we are now announcing the formation of

REASON ASSOCIATES, a new division of Reason Enterprises. Reason Associates will consist of *REASON* subscribers and friends who are seriously interested in spreading libertarian ideas. It will offer to members books and pamphlets specially selected by the editors of *REASON* for their usefulness in explaining libertarianism to others. In addition, in recognition of the largely-unfilled need for more social interaction among libertarians, Reason Associates will arrange members-only social activities, *including exclusive libertarian charter flight vacation tours*.

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In addition, Regular Members will receive a free *autographed* copy of the new Reason Press paperback edition of John Hospers' *LIBERTARIANISM*, while Supporting Members will receive the hardcover edition of this authoritative work, autographed by Professor Hospers. For Sustaining Members Reason Associates will provide a unique gift, unavailable elsewhere *at any price*: an exclusive *bound edition* of the entire Volume III of *REASON* Magazine. This superb volume is bound in deluxe hard covers and is lettered in gold with the *REASON* logo. Our dwindling supply of back issues permits us to produce only a limited quantity of these volumes, so they will be made available to Sustaining Members on a first-come/first-served basis.

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